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Joint Declaration Issued After Cozumel Summit

PA241[illegible]91 Mexico City Red Nacional 13 Imevision Television in Spanish 1300 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Report by Juan Manuel Pereira from Cozumel, Mexico]

[Text] With the Cozumel Declaration, Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez, and Colombian President Cesar Gaviria agreed to promote Cuba's viable coexistence on the continent and offered to initiate diplomatic efforts to normalize Cuba's ties with countries with which it may have differences. They noted that Cuba's integration into the Latin American context represents one of the requirements for attaining the collective goals of development and stability in the Caribbean region.

Presidents Salinas de Gortari, Perez, and Gaviria of the Group of Three [G-3] stated in this document that Cuba has confirmed its commitment to support the peace process in the area.

[Begin recording] [Salinas] In Mexico, we are convinced that the solution to Cuba's domestic problems is solely a Cuban responsibility. We also know that whatever happens in Cuba will have repercussions in our region, our country, the rest of the Caribbean region adjoining Latin America, and even the entire Latin American region.

[Gaviria] We consider Cuba's case one of political pluralism in the hemisphere. This meeting reiterates our view that Cuba's case must be considered a case of political pluralism on our continent.

[Perez] As our communique states, we hope that Cuba fully joins in the life and activities of the hemisphere and Latin America. We talked at length about this matter with Cuban President Fidel Castro. [end recording]

Presidents Salinas and Perez noted that at no time did Cuba ask to join the San Jose Pact to resolve its oil shortage problems.

[Begin Salinas recording] I would add that Castro did not ask to join the San Jose Pact or to have an exchange on matters related to oil. [end recording]

The Mexican president clearly stated that in our commercial relations we have never imposed any kind of conditions on the internal situations of other countries. The Cozumel Declaration, the highlights of which were read by Otto Grandados Roldan, General Director of the Media at the Mexican Presidency, contained the following points:

1. The presidents are interested in accelerating negotiations for the signing of a G-3 free trade agreement.

2. They recognize that the invitation that the Fourth Congress of the Cuban Communist Party made to Latin American capital coincides with the central objectives of the G-3 and the Guadalajara Ibero-American summit.

3. They reiterate their support for the OAS on Haiti and its condemnation of the coupist junta and urge the international community to implement the economic measures agreed upon.

4. On El Salvador, they agree to urge the conflicting sides to end the hostilities and encourage dialogue to resolve the conflict in Guatemala and foster a climate of peace and development.

[Begin Salinas recording] I would add only that our intention is to contribute toward detente and to establish that the dialogue is open. [end recording]

The three presidents voiced their political determination to contribute to a climate of understanding and cooperation, based on respect for their legitimate interests and strict adherence to international law.

G-3 Presidents Hold News Conference

PA2510045291 Havana Tele Rebelde and Cuba Vision Networks in Spanish 0130 GMT 25 Oct 91

[News conference by Group of Three Presidents Carlos Salinas de Gortari of Mexico, Carlos Andres Perez of Venezuela, and Cesar Gaviria of Colombia with identified and unidentified reporters on 23 October in Cozumel, Quintana Roo, Mexico—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Reporter] Mr. President (?it would seem that) Cuba has proposed a peaceful and (?civilized) solution to its problems [words indistinct].

[Salinas de Gortari] Mexico is convinced that the resolution of Cuba's domestic problems pertains exclusively to the Cuban people. We know, however, that events in Cuba will have repercussions in our region, in our country, in the remainder of the Caribbean area, which is in the vicinity of Latin America and, indeed, in the entire Latin American region. It is because of this that we have followed with great care and interest the domestic transformations resulting from the Cuban people's determination. We have attempted, undoubtedly, to anticipate the problems that our country and the rest of the region may encounter.

The invitation we extended to President Fidel Castro to carry on a dialogue within the framework of the G-3 was for the purpose of gaining knowledge of the Cuban people's perspective, of knowing what changes took place at the recent congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, and to learn about the internal economic adjustments Cuba has undergone in view of the new circumstances surrounding its international economic relations, which are the result of transformations within the USSR and Central Europe. We also wanted to learn about the substantial modifications the country's foreign trade has undergone precisely because of changes in the USSR, and in all of Central and Eastern Europe, its domestic economic modifications and, I repeat, the repercussions they could have on the rest of the region.

[Reporter] Will you allow Cuba to join the San Jose Pact so that it can receive oil supplies?

[Perez] The San Jose Pact was a magnificent initiative by Mexico and Venezuela to cooperate with Caribbean and Central American countries. We are willing to fulfill this pact, and a few weeks ago Mexico and Venezuela ratified its fulfillment. The pact is solely for the countries to whom we agreed to grant such preference. Therefore, it is not possible for any other country in the region to join the pact.

[Salinas de Gortari] I would add that we have not received any request from President Fidel Castro to join the pact or to have any oil-related exchange.

[Reporter] [words indistinct] economic or political reforms would be a factor or, in other words, Cuba would make reforms and then you would offer some support, some aid, some oil supplies?

[Perez] As I said before, Mexico and Venezuela have already established the extension of the San Jose Pact and the number of barrels of oil (?set aside) for this cooperation plan for the Central American and Caribbean nations; therefore, it is not possible for any other country to join the pact. Of course, we are quite interested—as President Salinas de Gortari noted—in the reforms that are taking place in Cuba, which are the result of the Fourth Congress of the Cuban Communist Party.

As stated in our communique, we expect as a matter of course to reincorporate Cuba fully into the normal activities of the hemisphere and Latin America. As our communique also stated, we discussed this matter broadly with President Fidel Castro.

[Reporter] [words indistinct] our commercial relations?

[Salinas de Gortari] We have never set any limitations on other countries' internal affairs.

[Martinez] Jose Salvador Martinez of EXCELSIOR. I would like to know whether any specific cooperation or trade agreements with Cuba were agreed on at this meeting to help alleviate the island's economic crisis. Also, what will be the political consequences for the United States of this opportunity the G-3 presidents have opened for Cuba?

[Gaviria] First of all, I wish to say that in this meeting we did not reach any specific commercial cooperation agreements with Cuba nor did President Castro say that he expected any type of special cooperation from the G-3 countries. We followed carefully the developments of the Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba. We observed in detail how the changes discussed at the Congress advance the democratic process in Cuba, although such changes might not, and evidently did not, meet international expectations. As I said, however, no commercial agreements were reached with Cuba. What is your second question?

[Martinez] What will be the political consequences for the United States of this opportunity the G-3 has opened for Cuba considering that the United States continues to impose a blockade on the island?

[Gaviria] In no way does this policy change the foreign policy of any one country. Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela have been friendly to Cuba and the Cuban Government. Of course, we are interested in changes that essentially correspond to the Cuban people's will. And we said clearly in our statement that we expect any changes in Cuba to be the result of the Cuban people's will. We are convinced that the United States has respected and continues to respect the policy that each of our countries has pursued regarding Cuba. We understand the case of Cuba as one of political pluralism in the hemisphere. This meeting reiterates this view, that Cuba's situation should be understood as an instance of political pluralism on our continent.

[Salinas de Gortari] I would like to add only that our sole intent is to contribute to detente and establish that the dialogue is open. At the same time, we have learned of economic changes in Cuba, such as the opening of very important areas to foreign investment. There is a desire to foster Latin American investment in the areas that have just been opened. We have learned that considerable European investments are being directed to the island. Italy, Spain, and part of Germany are directing investments toward tourism. Mexican entrepreneurs are interested in investing in these areas in Cuba. Consequently, this type of activity opens a way for greater commercial relations with Cuba. I want to point out that the internal changes we are making are forcing our economy to gradually eliminate subsidies. As the result of the lack of opportunities for generalized subsidies at home, there is also a lack of opportunity for subsidies elsewhere.

[Perez] In my speech at the UN General Assembly this year, I made a statement on a situation that is a source of concern for all Latin American people. The cold war is now past history, fortunately, but it looks like it still exists in America. This situation is expressed in the positions assumed by Cuba and the United States. I have called on Cuba so that its experienced leadership may adopt whatever reforms it finds suitable to fit in the general interpretation of democracy and so that the United States may stop its blockade, which we do not view as congruous or in line with the hemispheric situation we would like to have, one based on fair and equitable treatment among all the countries.

[Reporter] You said this morning that you came prepared to offer President Castro alternatives to join our America. Could you tell us what kind of alternatives you offered him?

[Perez] Either I was misinterpreted or misheard. I have repeatedly said that the most experienced head of state of Latin America is, precisely, President Castro. We do not want to turn ourselves into advisers. We came to

hear him personally tell us what alternatives were available for Cuba, in the framework of the new international situation, by the decisions adopted at the congress of the Cuban Communist Party. We also wanted to tell him that we aspire to see Cuba, as a Latin American and Caribbean country, be inserted in the region's life in line with the fundamental concepts that serve as the basis on which Latin American politics function.

[Reporter] Mr. President, what is your position on the situation in Haiti. What [words indistinct]. What is your opinion, please?

[Perez] The truth is that the coup in Haiti shocked our America and the whole world. We have heard voices of rejection from all parts of the world regarding the overthrow of President Aristide. Why is there so much concern now over a military coup in Latin America when in the past this was almost a common situation in our area? We believe that the reason is that Latin America has been democratized, that the military has gone back to their barracks and [words indistinct] and for the first time, the OAS has adopted the kind of measures it has adopted. The OAS has not only condemned the coup politically, it has also suspended its relations with Haiti and ordered economic sanctions.

The Group of Three has just signed a communique urging all the nations to maintain the measures on Haiti so that economic sanctions may yield the results we expect, so that the sanctions may persuade the people who staged this rebellion against the authorities and people of Haiti that they must return power to the president who was legitimately elected in Haiti, who is, for a fact, the first Haitian president elected by a huge majority of the people. We trust that this will happen. Venezuela has temporarily offered President Aristide our hospitality and we have insisted that the OAS must now send the civilian commission we have agreed on to that country so that this commission may continue working for the return of the constitutional president to Haiti and so that the commission may defend human rights in that nation.

[Reporter] Did you discuss oil with President Castro at all?

[Salinas de Gortari] Yes, of course. He discussed with us the domestic measures Cuba is adopting to face the serious problems that have resulted from changes in its relations with the Soviet Union. He may give you details on this when he meets with you. This was the only aspect that was discussed, that of the transformations going on in Cuba because of the new situation arising from its commercial relations, especially with the Soviet Union. I want to reiterate that President Fidel Castro never asked for any special oil relationship with Mexico or Venezuela.

[Moderator] Thank you, presidents. Thank you, journalists.

Castro Comments on Group of Three Meeting

FL2410134591 Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Interview with Cuban President Fidel Castro by Jacobo Zabludovski, vice president of the Mexican television network ECO; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] At the end of the fourth conference of the Group of Three on Cozumel Island, Commander in Chief Fidel Castro, president of Cuba, was interviewed by Jacobo Zabludovski, vice president of the Mexican television network ECO.

[Begin recording] [Zabludovski] I listened to all the other questions, but there is one missing. What did you talk about this morning with the presidents?

[Castro] We discussed all topics—regional, Latin American, international. They particularly asked me about the Fourth Congress of the Cuban Communist Party. That is what we discussed most. I told them everything I could about the congress within the time available.

[Zabludovski] Was any particular proposal made and did you give them any answers?

[Castro] No, no, only general discussions, no concrete proposals.

[Zabludovski] Commander, 32 years ago, when you were half your age, I accompanied you during your entrance into Havana....

[Castro] You were not even born then. [laughs]

[Zabludovski] Looking back at your government, is there anything you would have liked to do better or differently?

[Castro] No, only to have made everything more perfect, to have made better use of resources, to have known since then about the special period, and to have prepared for it since then the way we are doing now. [end recording]

Cuba

Castro Discusses Free Farmers Markets

FL231021309 Havana Cuba Vision Network in Spanish 0130 GMT 19 Oct 91

["Excerpt" of highlights of the 13 October session of the Fourth Communist Party of Cuba Congress, with remarks by President Fidel Castro and other party members, held at the Heredia Theater in Santiago de Cuba—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Castro] I have been waiting until the discussion ended to make some comments. I want to express some thoughts but I did not want to exert any influence, I did not want to influence any views which the delegates might have, since we are very interested that this subject, or any other subject, be discussed with complete freedom.

I think we have been very democratic. We have done things correctly. We have not been excessively democratic, but correctly democratic. I think it honors our congress that any comrade, in this case the delegate from Pinar del Rio, had wanted to discuss this subject again and did so from the first day, even though this subject had already been discussed in the province. He introduced this subject together with other subjects and we, undoubtedly, agreed with him, especially on how the debates, the preparations, and the speeches were to be conducted, on what to say, and all other issues of this kind. He also took the opportunity to say that he had some other things he wanted to talk about and that he was interested in discussing the issue of the free farmers market. I said, we are going to engage in a debate on the free farmers market.

I believe his request to discuss this issue is correct for one reason, and I believe we will all agree. Many people in many places brought up the issue of the free farmers market during the assemblies to discuss the call to the congress. I think it is good that this subject was also brought up and discussed in the congress. We know there are many militants, common folks, and honest people who ask themselves the same question and wonder if this could be a solution, whether this might help to somehow solve the problems of the situation we face.

I believe that in order to understand well this issue, although many arguments have been brought up, there is still a lack of supporting arguments. It is a matter of important concepts. There are even historical precedents, such as the role of small properties of mini-states, of large production enterprises, of work productivity, of agrarian production, all those issues.

At the beginning of the revolution we almost made an enormous mistake as a result of tendencies prevailing in the international revolutionary movement and departing from the socialist experience in which the first thing always done was to distribute the lands; they distribute all the land. That is the way it was done in the USSR and in Bulgaria. I was told that 3 million parcels of land were distributed in Bulgaria. The land was also distributed in the USSR. I have my doubts that in the USSR [5-second break in reception]. There was no machinery, there was no technology, there was nothing. All they had were millions of [words indistinct] who were tired of feudal exploitation and looting and who wanted the land. The slogan of the Bolshevik revolution was: peace, bread, and land. They lacked economic development, manual labor, literacy, and machinery. There was also a strong political demand for the land to be distributed. Giving each person one or two hectares of land so that they could be self-sufficient, was the best thing they could do. If they produced more than they needed, then that food was sent to the cities.

For years the farmers produced and produced more than they consumed. But there came a day when it became evident that the small land owners could not supply all the food for the people. The most the small land owners could produce was 40 or 50 tons of cereal, but in the long run they found that the country would not advance or produce more food if they did not unite the land. Their biggest problem, the serious problem, [8-second break in reception] so they used force to unite the land. They used forceful measures to unite the land. There were many peasants who were revolutionaries and they were willing to help; however, there were others who were not willing to help. The idea of the gulags was developed and the gulags in Russia had six or seven, perhaps 10 hectares. Some of our peasants still have 50 or 60 hectares and we have never called these areas gulags. We have respected them, we have used different terminology, ideas, policies. The Soviets who had to unite the land to promote the production of food [4-second break in reception] gave way to the use of force, to catastrophes, death of animals—many people killed their animals—and they had to pay a very high price for doing this. Almost all that land was divided into cooperatives. The peasants were given a piece of land, maybe half a hectare, 4,000 meters, 3,000 meters, some had more, some had less. During my first visit to the USSR I was able to see that the piece of land they gave to the peasants differed according to the Republic. For example, in Georgia the peasants were given more land. They were given a hectare, a hectare and a bit more. However, everyone was given a piece of land. All those peasants whose lands were divided into cooperatives were given their piece of land. I believe they also created some subplots. These subplots were not cooperatives but state enterprises.

Despite the way it was attained, despite technological backwardness in the field of agriculture, the land was united. They did not use enough fertilizer, they did not apply science to agriculture, they did not use the best seed or the best variety, they had no machinery, however, they implemented a process of mechanization.

Some things happened in that country. I believe one of the things that happened was a man called Lysenko, a great adviser and theoretician in the field of agriculture who had much influence. I have read Lysenko's books

and many other books on agriculture and I believe Lysenko was mistaken in several things such as fertilization and crops. It seems he was a great [3-second break in reception] the great experts. We must avoid those great advisers. We must avoid those men who are turned into geniuses and who know it all. Specialists are needed to give advise and ideas, but a great adviser can get a prominen. party into trouble and can get a government into trouble.

Some time ago, when I was trying to solve the problems our country was experiencing, I read much about agriculture and I came to the conclusion that, to a certain extent, Lysenko's ideas -and he was a knowledgeable man in many fields—were not always correct and they exerted a negative influence. But despite all this, they increased their cereal production by four fold and produced 200 million, 210 million, 220 million tons of cereal.

In the past the Soviet people ate cereal, oats, and dark rye bread. Then they started eating more meat and eggs, and drinking milk. The people were no longer eating only cereal. They no longer wanted to eat only cereal; they wanted other foods. To produce these other foods, they had to invest three and four times more cereal. Despite their large cereal crops, despite their 220 or 230 tons of cereal production, they did not have enough. To this we must add that, they did not have a good infrastructure. They did not have enough silos and warehouses to store the cereal, therefore, some of the crop was lost. But that was the way the Soviet agriculture developed.

Other countries improved. They also copied the idea of cooperatives, but they used more fertilizers, used better technology. That is why we see that Czechoslovakia had a very good agricultural system. Bulgaria had a very good agricultural system. Those who visited Bulgaria witnessed this. They joined millions of small land plots and ended up building large agroindustrial complexes. These were all cooperatives. The Hungarian people developed very good cooperatives. East Germany had very good cooperatives. The USSR was left behind in agricultural development because [6-second break in reception]. It has been proven that small land owners could not solve the food problems.

There are other examples. Mexico for example. I speak often with the Mexicans. I am referring to the ejidos. That is a little piece of land that was the result of the revolution. The amount of food that Mexico must import is tremendous. There are more than 80 million Mexicans and they need large amounts of corn, cereal, and other things. Mexico does export some vegetables and some tomatoes. Mexico has the manpower and good [words indistinct]. They export vegetables and flowers. There is a growing demand for flowers from many of the developed countries. When I talked to the Mexicans, I have given them my views on the matter. I have told them: well, you are [4-second break in reception]. Why are you not self-sufficient—I am not talking about a socialist country, I am talking about a capitalist country? Because they have millions of pieces of land. They must have irrigation plans for all that land. They must mechanize the agricultural system, they must apply technology, microjet [6-second break in reception]. [Words indistinct] seven caballerias and has a processing plant that uses cables to move the plantains to the water to be washed and then to the boxes for packing. I keep telling them: You have a thousand plantations [4-second break in reception] plane to take it to the processing plant. Along the way it [6-second break in reception]. And the world today is not turning toward the small enterprise. In Europe and the United States they are turning toward mechanization and concentration of the land.

The Yankee imposed an agrarian reform on the Japanese. They went into the country and gave everyone a piece of land. The Japanese tractors look like toy tractors. They cultivate the land with their bare hands. The Japanese pick rice by hand. The Japanese hectare yields much more than the American hectare. They can easily produce six tons per hectare. They do their planting by hand. However, the American cannot produce six tons per hectare; he probably gets three or four tons. The Japanese put in 50, 60, or 70 hours to pick five tons of rice, whereas it takes the North American six or seven hours to pick three tons, three and a half, or four tons. They produce less per hectare, he has more land, and produces much more per person. [sentence as heard]

Now, there are subsidies for the small land owner. When rice on the international market sells for $300, $260, or $250 a ton, the Japanese Government pays the rice farmer $850 for the ton of rice. Almost three times the [words indistinct]. Europe also subsidizes, but the tendency is to concentrate the land, mechanize, and increase production. In those countries there are fewer and fewer peasants. No, the land ownership does not solve, nor will it ever solve, the problems of food for the ever-growing world population.

This is an important precedent. At least, we had a warning. [10-second break in reception] the viewpoint of the People's Socialist Party. That party was a staunch and loyal supporter of the International Communist Movement. The tendency in Cuba, following the triumph of the revolution, was to distribute the land in little parcels like it was done in Bolivia after that famous revolution, and like it was being done everywhere else. Am I correct, Carlos [Carlos Rafael Rodriguez]? More or less? Well, tell me. Tell me. We are at an open congress.

[Rodriguez] It was not the system back then.

[Castro] It was not?

[Rodriguez] It was not. [Words indistinct].

[Castro] In what year?

[Rodriguez] [Words indistinct].

[Castro] After the triumph. Why?

[Rodriguez] They reached the conclusion that [words indistinct].

[Castro] We reached the conclusion that....

[Unidentified speaker, interrupting] There were large estates and we felt that the state should be given those large estates and that the state should work them. The small units of land would remain in the hands of the peasants. What we did during the first phase of the revolution was to defend the idea of small parcels of land being distributed among the peasants.

[Castro] Fine. Lionel [Lionel Soto Prieto], what was the theory behind this? Pardon me, but there are some old communists here. Lionel? [Words indistinct] What was the theory?

[Soto] The distribution of land. When the right to work land that belonged to someone else was implemented in the USSR, the peasants....

[Castro, interrupting] It belonged to the state but the man who worked it....

[Soto, interrupting] The person who had the land, enjoyed it and worked it.

[Castro] Only a piece.

[Soto] In other countries the land was distributed. As far as I recall, the party's position in the early days of the revolution was that large estates had to be taken over by the state. It seems to me that we were not very clear on the issue and the distribution of land was the idea everyone supported.

[Unidentified speaker] I can bring an article written by me that served as the basis for the policy....

[Castro, interrupting] In what month?

[Unidentified speaker] No, no. Years before the revolution.

[Castro] Oh.

[Unidentified speaker] Years before the revolution. Well, I recall that....

[Castro, interrupting] On not distributing the land?

[Unidentified speaker] On not distributing the land.

[Castro] I congratulate you.

[Unidentified speaker] I believe that the party's platform....

[Castro, interrupting] You, Osmany [Osmany Cienfuegos], who were a sort of a communist or within the rank and file of the communist party....

[Cienfuegos, interrupting] I am not going to talk about the theory. I do not know what theory the socialist party had at that time.

[Castro] Carlos Rafael?

[Cienfuegos] In practice, as early as 1959 land distribution was started because of well-intentioned influences exerted by members of the People's Socialist Party. I remember when you announced your decision. It was in Las Villas, in Yaguajai. You decided to halt that distribution. I do not recall the theory but in practice those actions were initiated.

[Rodriguez] That is what happened.

[Castro] Risquet, old and noble member of the old and noble communist party, let us hear from you.

[Risquet] I really do not know a lot about the theory they had, because when this happened in 1959 I was in Oriente Province. My opinions are the ones that were expressed in the first resolution of the congress of the party, our Communist Party of Cuba. I think it was a magnificent resolution. This resolution corrected two things about the cooperative movement. One was what you have said: that there should not be small properties within the cooperative if they did not cover the members' consumption, correcting the mistakes we had seen in socialist Europe. Two, the resolution of the first congress prohibited the free farmers markets.

When we discussed the free farmers markets, one of the arguments I used—and I remember that there were eight months left before the second congress—is that we were violating the resolutions of the first congress. In a few months we were going to hold the second congress. Let us have a pilot project now, without violating the first congress' resolution. I opposed the idea of the free farmers market from its inception.

[Castro] I congratulate you. And what was to be done about the land? What were the prevailing ideas in 1959?

[Risquet] Well, we had the sugarcane cooperatives. Even sugarcane land was....

[Castro, interrupting] Your memory is failing you, Risquet.

[Risquet] What?

[Castro] Your memory is failing you.

[Risquet] Why?

[Castro] Because that was later.

[Risquet] Well, 1959, 1960, I do not remember.

[Unidentified speaker] Fidel.

[Castro] Pepe [not further identified], is a man with a lot of authority and respect. I am afraid that if he talks here, he will bring down all my theories. Alright, Pepe, you have the floor. [applause]

[Pepe] Thank you for your praise. In the first place, I am going to give my opinion about the questions you asked. This was very [words indistinct] agrarian reform under

the leadership of the old party [words indistinct]. Certainly, when I first joined, the propaganda of both, the Party of the Revolutionary Communist Union [Partido Union Revolucionaria Comunista], and later the People's Socialist Party, was a true agrarian reform that distributed land [passage indistinct] therefore, you have to distribute it among half a million people....

[Castro] Right. You are the one most authorized to talk about this.

[Pepe] But in addition, in addition [repeats], Fidel [words indistinct].

[Castro] You were involved in this.

[Pepe] I remember that, if my memory is not letting me down, in your book, "History Will Absolve Me," in mentioning agrarian matters, you also talked about distributing land to the farmers who did not have land.

[Castro] But I was talking about the cooperatives.

[Pepe] Of course, you were talking about the cooperatives, certainly.

[Castro] No one had talked about cooperatives, because at that time I did not want to distribute land.

[Pepe] Yes. Well, the old party also talked about cooperatives, but basically they talked about distributing land. This was a fundamental slogan. And that was the propaganda of Grau San Martin, and the propaganda of all the bourgeois parties. Agrarian reform, but when they came into power they forgot their promises.

[Castro] I do not want to compare those shameless people with the members of the People's Socialist Party.

[Pepe] No, no, of course not.

[Castro] In no way.

[Pepe] Of course not. Now, Fidel, about the other topic, allow me to speak briefly about the topic that gave rise to this.

[Castro] No, no, not now. I am not talking about that now.

[Pepe] But will you allow me to speak or not?

[Castro] About the free farmers markets?

[Pepe] Yes.

[Castro] No, because it would interrupt my story. I want to talk about this.

[Pepe] Oh, yes, that is true, you are right. I will speak later if you wish. Pardon me, pardon me.

[Castro] For greater illustration ....

[Pepe, interrupting] Pardon me, and it is very good that you should do so, very good.

[Castro] I am not criticizing the People's Socialist Party and its policies. I am not criticizing them. Since I became aware of Marxism-Leninism and began to read a lot of books and books that were everywhere, and based on all the historic experience which always has great strength, the prevailing idea, the catchword for the farmers—and it is still so in many parts of the world, in the progressive movement—is the distribution of land.

The Chinese also did this. They distributed it by mu. But mu does not mean that an ox says "moo" here, and someone says that an ox is distributing land. No, a mu means about 900 square meters of land, less than one tenth of a hectare. Land was distributed to everyone. I do not doubt that this has been done correctly in many places, and I do not question it in China. They even distributed it a second time, and I do not question this. That was when they created the communes, and I can explain why. So I do not criticize this policy, because it was very revolutionary. It was a class struggle, and if there are millions [word indistinct] going hungry and unemployed, what better and more revolutionary watchword than distributing the land?

Now, in Cuba the circumstances were different. In Cuba there was [words indistinct] all this. The revolution triumphed with enormous popular support, from more than 90 percent of the population. The revolution did not have a political need to distribute land. As a political need, it is very nice, very pleasant. I thought the revolution was strong enough to pursue other changes. Because it was very clear to me that if we distributed land, we would destroy agriculture in this country. The country lived from agriculture. I can imagine 1,000 caballerias of sugarcane, which supplied a large sugar mill, divided up into [words indistinct] each farming family would plant a bit of sugarcane, another of yucca, sweet potatoes, corn, [words indistinct] and all those other things peasants plant [words indistinct] for the sugar mills would end, and the country's sugar exports would end. The hopes for mechanization and all those things would end.

I had the deepest conviction that since the revolution had triumphed with that great strength, the revolution did not have to pay that price to strengthen itself politically. I say, with the same tactical, strategic, and revolutionary criterion, that if the conditions had been different, with great sorrow I would have proposed the distribution of land, because that is very nice. If we had had to distribute land to save the revolution, we would have had to distribute land. No, I said, we must save the chance to develop a great... [rephrases] modern, mechanized, and highly productive agriculture.

Of course, it is beside the fact that at that time we did not have a single-party system. There were several parties, and each one had its own style. We would have to do a critique—which is not appropriate now—of the style of each of the three basic organizations, which were the 26 July Movement, the People's Socialist Party [PSP], and the Revolutionary Directorate. Each one wanted to do what was best for its organization, according to how each

organization saw things, and according to how each group within each organization saw things. [Words indistinct] history. Our own organization was very heterogeneous. I said it was like an immense river, like an Amazon of people and that a stream [words indistinct] our organization was not enough for that enormous mass of people. The PSP was isolated and it was a small party, but it had prestige and influence among the workers, from which it had been expelled completely [words indistinct] more members, more organized, and it had its own policy also. Is that not true, Carlos? Or do you not remember the things we talked about in the Sierra Maestra, during that famous offensive? But we are not going to hold that conversation here. [Words indistinct] the Jibacoa [words indistinct].

[Rodriguez] [Words indistinct] the party plan to make sure that what I am saying is [words indistinct].

[Castro] No, no, Carlos. History is history, and the different stages, phases. All this is nice. This is not....

[Rodriguez, interrupting] [Words indistinct] true, but they are two different things. The distribution of land was in Las Villas....

[Castro, interrupting] I am not criticizing, Carlos, I am giving an opinion. I am not criticizing and I thought your policy was correct.

[Rodriguez] No, no, no. Fidel, you are talking about history.

[Castro] Yes. Now, when the revolution triumphed, and everyone was sectarian, the sectarianism of the PSP. I am not talking about the sectarianism of Anibal, but of the party in general, with all the excellent relations we had. They were excellent. I really educated myself with the books of Marxism-Leninism that Carlos Rafael sold at [words indistinct]. I still have a debt pending there. I bought some when I had a little money but they also sold me books on credit.

Back then the books came from the USSR. Everything was printed in the USSR. No other country printed these books. I had been buying those books for years because I was a communist who was not affiliated with the party. I had my ideas, my concepts, all that kind of thing, and I was absolutely convinced, that it was correct, absolutely correct, to make a socialist revolution. So this is old. It is not from 1959. Many people followed the line of socialism after the revolution [words indistinct] socialists or communists and all that. But since the organizations had their policies and each one wanted to win over supporters, you know this, they recruited [words indistinct] and if he was a soldier, the more quickly he was recruited. This was a conspiracy. It cannot be called anything else. They were careless in that sense because they could have created very serious divisions and disputes. They could have created [words indistinct]. That is history.

But I remember that in these battle between the organizations, there were attempts to take over land, and land was taken over. [Words indistinct] a dispute, and not only a dispute, [words indistinct] a law that anyone who took over a piece of land would lose the rights the agrarian reform might give him. It was necessary to pass a law. The law is there, and I wrote it. Really, those were the ideas that were in vogue. The prevailing tendencies and the belief in doctrine, could have resulted in a slack [relajo] in our organization. We did not yet have a single-party system. From very early, we began to work for unity. This was [words indistinct] before the agrarian law was passed, which was in May. So we passed the law so that this would not happen, but that rather we would have an orderly reform.

So this orderly reform, many of the [words indistinct] were something else, one more step. Then we realized we were moving backwards. One of the most combative sectors of our proletariat were the sugarcane workers, educated by Jesus Menendez and the Communist Party, and we were moving backwards politically, ideologically. We were going to [words indistinct] and proposed the cooperatives. I myself had proposed them. All those large sugar plantations would be sugarcane-growing cooperatives. But after [words indistinct] these workers are not cooperative members. They are agricultural workers [words indistinct]. I had to meet with the 1,000-plus cooperatives and during a lengthy meeting I had to persuade them that they should no longer be cooperatives and should become states enterprises, people's farms, in order to develop, property of the entire people and not property of the cooperatives. But we did not distribute land.

Another thing was the situation of the farmers who had pieces of land as squatters, renters, sharecroppers. Without any discussion, we gave them ownership of the land, to those who already had their little piece of land. That was the promise, to give the land to the farmers who paid rent, sometimes one third, sometimes 40 percent, sometimes half of their crop in rent. Later came the agrarian reform. We discussed the agrarian reform law. Che [Guevara] had asthma and was at what is today the Pioneers' City. We held several meetings there. We drafted the law quite quickly. You [not further identified] were there. How many of us were there? You remember quite a lot of all these details.

[Rodriguez] (Pino Santos).

[Castro] Who?

[Rodriguez] (Pino Santos).

[Castro] (Pino Santos).

[Rodriguez] Blas [word indistinct].

[Castro] Who? Blas, Che.

[Unidentified speaker] Was the president of [words indistinct] there?

[Castro] No, no, that must have been someone else. No, that would be someone else. [repeats] There were several commissions, but the commissions that were drawing up the law a few days before the signing of the (?money) law [words indistinct]. Jimenez, who was the great historian and geographer, was there. [Words indistinct] various people [words indistinct]. That law was conservative and moderate. I made a few changes to it. I do not know if the papers are somewhere. While on the plane, I even made changes to the law after that commission had studied it.

Well, the 100 caballerias were left in, although, very reluctantly. Those were the highly developed farms. And I put in the 30 [not further specified]. Thirty when there were Yankee companies that had 15,000 caballerias. The fact is that the law was radical, very radical. [Words indistinct] this law lacks something. Look it up.

I sneaked the concept of cooperatives into the agrarian law. The draft we took with us to the Sierra did not include this concept. We filled it in along the way. The implementation of the agrarian reform even was more radical than the law. The implementation was even more radical. I want to tell you that if we had distributed the land we would have destroyed agriculture in this country.

Nevertheless, we had other experiences. Our 26 July Movement called together an enormous assembly of workers, at the beginning of the revolution when the companies did not yet belong to the state, demanding a fourth shift at the sugar mills. I had to confront a crowd the size of this crowd who were frenetically supporting that demand. And the leaders of the [words indistinct] and I do not want to mention names. What for? None of them are here? They were agitating for a fourth shift. I said: This is crazy. This is absurd. The problem of employment in our country cannot be solved by distributing what there is, running short on everything, but by developing the country. In spite of the fact that it was still a private company, I had to become a magician. How to convince the workers, who were seeing the difference between what they wanted and what the capitalists wanted, that the fourth shift was not a good idea. They believed that that was the bourgeois economy [words indistinct]. They claimed they would not do as they pleased with that money, that they were not going to use that money to develop the country, because that was written in "History Will Absolve Me." But, "History Will Absolve Me" was moderate thinking in which I made the maximum use of my moderation, in order not to start talking about Marxism-Leninism or socialism, because that would have been very absurd. [applause]

I made use of [words indistinct] and that the state [words indistinct]. If you read between the lines you will see that "History Will Absolve Me" is the essence of a socialist program. The state had to develop that program, not the law of free enterprise, the law of supply and demand. Back then I was already against the famous market economy. I was no more than an adolescent recently graduated from university in 1953. I was already against the market economy, but I could not come out and say that. But I said that that was not the way to develop the economy of the country. I said that the economy had to be nationalized; that it had to be a state task, a state matter. Many did not pay attention because so many programs had been drafted [words indistinct]. The first revolution in this country in many [words indistinct].

[Unidentified speaker] [Words indistinct] that no one would have noticed that [words indistinct].

[Castro] But there were some 10 or 12 who knew about this. These were people I had indoctrinated into communism, with the books of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, the literature from the party library. Because we had Marxist study circles, before 26 July. But all that was done under cover. [applause]

[Words indistinct] saying all those things. Telling them how things should be done. It was a plan we wanted to implement. We saw ourselves implementing it in phases. The best thing I could do was to free myself, not holding myself to anything. First of all because I was stupid. Second, Carlos Rafael got me into the party. And we would not be experiencing the special period because there would have been no revolution. [laughter] We would still be copying the books. We would no longer have a party. Well. But we did what had to be done and we did it properly. We had firm ideas.

How did we handle the [words indistinct] sugar. Anyone who wishes can calculate what sugar has given this country during these 30 years of revolution. Just think of the good price we have been paid for it. All that money has been used to build schools, hospitals, and a million other things [words indistinct]. The standard of living is above that of the other Third World countries. This has been done even though we have not put our resources to optimum use. Cuba is one of the countries in the world that produces more food per capita. For every citizen in this country, we feed four people in the world. We give them calories. Perhaps Argentina can produce more per capita, but I am not sure of that. However, Argentina has 60 times more agricultural surface than Cuba.

It is a country with [words indistinct] produce food for 40 million people in the world. There is no other country. Whatever is said, our agriculture produces. It can produce much more. We know this very well—bananas and everything, with the technology and organization, and all that—but agriculture was saved and we have to do many other [words indistinct].

Then we developed the state enterprises. We bought land. Then we promoted the cooperative movement. There were two agrarian reforms, one that put a cap of 30 [caballerias]—and 100 in exceptional cases—and another, stronger one that coincided with Hurricane Flora. That one made a cutback to five caballerias. That one was traumatic. The first affected a few hundred landowners, and the second affected thousands.

I will never forget that at the time of the floods caused by Hurricane Flora, [words indistinct] in the middle of the night, we had to go [words indistinct] around there by the Cauto River. I talked with the man about this and that. He did not even have candles, but he gave us shelter. It was all flooded. He had a farm, and he had just been affected by our agrarian reform law. He had 10 or 15 caballerias. I asked him about what he had. He told me, and added that now he had this much. Here I was seeking shelter from Hurricane Flora and ended up at this man's home, and he had been affected by the reform. I was really embarrassed. [laughter] Well, the truth is that he was not very rich, [words indistinct] a little more in practice, but a limit of five had been set. [Words indistinct] caballerias by the Cauto with [word indistinct], and 20 other caballerias, planted with potato, in Guines. They are very different things.

But our laws were not perfect. The second [words indistinct] the dairy farms, the house, everything, and we got the land. Well, the other one was even harsher, because it represented an expropriation or confiscation of 30 caballerias, with all the buildings. They were left with the house and nothing more. That second agrarian reform law was a harsh one. But we enriched the state land holdings. Later we bought, rented, and so one, until we had [words indistinct]. The farmers were left.

Then we started the cooperative movement. We did it in order of priorities. Our first investments were in dairy farms, [words indistinct], enterprises that were owned by all the people. We gave the farmers the ownership of the land they had. Some were the legal owners. [Words indistinct] farmers also wanted [words indistinct] from the state. Even some who had [words indistinct]. When a catastrophe hit, we pardoned their debts. I am convinced that no other farmers in the world have ever received better treatment than the Cuban farmers received, without discussion. The received generous, noble, respectful treatment. They were treated as allies. We said: You are our allies, and they are our allies. Our allies were those who had less than five caballerias.

Then we guaranteed those farmers their markets and market prices. We guaranteed them loans, machinery, fertilizers, everything. We did something more: We promised there would be no further agrarian reform. We have kept this promise during the 32 years of the revolution [words indistinct]. Some became members of cooperatives.

We started a movement. It grew, and our cooperatives, organized by small farmers are excellent. That is, as a rule, right? They are productive. They have high productivity. For many years we gave them more resources than we gave the enterprises. First they moved their houses, then they built magnificent houses. The cooperative members have houses like doctors used to have. We gave them trucks, combines; we gave the cooperative members everything. We continued to give the individual farmers all the [words indistinct]. There would be no [words indistinct], and if they wanted to be there on their land all their lives, that was all right. That is the agrarian policy the revolution followed, and I do not think any other country has followed that policy. That is also why we have such good relations with the farmers.

Well, the farmers had schools, all kinds of opportunities. First, the literacy campaign, teachers, schools of all kinds, scholarships to study in pre-university schools, and the university [words indistinct]. They were given the opportunity to become engineers, doctors, teachers, nurses, officers in the Revolutionary Armed Forces, officers in the Ministry of the Interior. The revolution gave so many opportunities to those who left the rural areas. They ran from the rural areas.

One of the problems we have today is that we lack a labor force in many rural areas. If you were to analyze the statistics for tobacco in Pinar del Rio, which is grown on small plots, we see that each year there is less tobacco. We see that the farmers are older each year. If 3,000 caballerias were planted, [words indistinct]. We are making a great effort to increase production. How do we increase this? We are organizing agricultural camps. What happened in the agricultural areas of southern Havana Province? That everyone left. The revolution, with the possibilities it created for man, produced this logical and spontaneous movement. Everyone wanted to study a career. The peasants, the grandparents and parents, [words indistinct] got old.

[Words indistinct] a young woman [words indistinct] the people's government in Guines, about 15 km [words indistinct]. The role of the people's government is to create [words indistinct]. This was not said here. Everyone created payrolls in industrial quantities in this country, and between being out there weeding the fields and being in an office with a fan, it was a lot more comfortable to be in an office with a fan. To have a fan, and go on visits on Sundays. I visit a lot of farmers' houses, and I like them a lot [words indistinct]. I see what small farms are here, and I know some excellent farmers. We have them as advisors, you see. We recently created the Institution of Farmer-Advisors. We have about 12 advisors. There are 20, 25, or 30 who are researchers, creators, knowledgeable men. We are taking advantage of their experience. A farmer could do what the state could not do.

Many people from the eastern provinces moved to Havana, like the ones who made their own little town in Alquizar. There are those who received a piece of land and I think there are, I do not know how many families there. The farmers hire them. Sometimes they hired people from the state factory to harvest the crops. How much did they pay them? Thirty pesos or 40 pesos. The state could not pay 30 or 40 pesos for potatoes that were being sold at 6 or 7 centavos each. In addition, this would create chaos with very high wages. The farmers received and still receive the same price for their [words indistinct], therefore, when they are short of workers, those caballerias can pay for their work force. They hire retired people, residents of the area, and pay wages that

the state cannot pay. Many of these small farms have kept going. But they keep going, we support them, we will continue to support them, we defend them, and we coordinate with them.

Now, the cooperative movement was doing wonderfully well. Listening to Comrade Carlos, he said some true things, that there is a black market and all that. That is an old market. It existed before the free farmer' markets and after them. [Words indistinct] says it will not solve anything. [Words indistinct] and we applaud the fact that the plans are [words indistinct]. He saw the free farmers markets as a way to avoid the problem of the black market. The only black market we have here is not an agricultural product black market. That is perhaps the smallest black market that exists here. That is what I believe. [applause]

Here there is a black market with those who steal avocados. The people of the Habana Vieja contingent picked 500 quintals last year; they harvested 3,500 this year. A man came by and took 15 quintals of avocados, that is a source for the black market that has nothing to do with the problem of [words indistinct] but with theft and crime.

This means whoever takes a bag of yucca, or kills an animal at the dairy farm, or steals a few pigs, some chickens, all that is a source for the black market. Some steal 100 chickens and will not eat them. They sell them. They kill a steer, but will not eat it; they sell it. They kill a pig, or several pigs and sell them. All those who steal from the cigarette factory sell those cigarettes on the black market. Those who steal fabric sell it on the black market. Those who steal shoes, perfumes, or other merchandise, everyone who steals a container from the port sells it on the black market.

But there are people who sell on the black market from their rations. I know families who do this. I have talked with social workers.... [rephrases] A woman—since there are no restrictions on having children like in China—has eight children. She has a baby every year, and each one has a different father. Is this not terrible? No, I am not criticizing this woman on moral grounds, not at all. These are things that happen in life. She went out and got a room somewhere in one of the buildings where some people live. She has her room. She does not have to ask anyone's permission. Here we do not have those restrictions. We do not have restrictions on moving from any province to Havana and finding a place [words indistinct] without having a husband. So, what does she do? She sells half of her milk ration, and some of the rice ration, and some of something else. There are two adults and neither one of them works. Do you know what they live on? The rations. That is a source for the black market, but it is an old, well known, and tolerated source. But rationing was a necessity, and praise rationing. One day we will have to build a great monument to honor this rationing. We did not have the World Bank, or the Inter-American Development Bank. No one gave us any of that. We were able to have all the teachers and doctors we wanted. We did not have the famous excess of money that would put prices sky-high and make holes in the people's pockets. Rationing has done a great service to this country. But there are people who trade on their ration. We have just now created a source for the black market with the cigarettes. Because if two million people do not smoke, and they are given cigarettes—and we know the price they pay for cigarettes on the black market: 5, 6, or 7 pesos....

[Unidentified delegate, interrupting] Ten!

[Castro] Well, I am conservative. [laughter] I base this on conservative estimates. We are giving a 17-year-old young man cigarettes. Maybe he will give them to his father or brother. Very good. Maybe he will say: Well, if I want to go to Pabexpo or somewhere, I am going to [words indistinct] and we have given him the material, whether we knew it or not, whether we liked it or not. [Words indistinct] deserve all the attention and all the respect. If we were going to put an end to the black market for produce by setting up the free farmers markets, if that was one of the fundamental objectives, why would we not put everything on unrestricted sale? Put everything up for sale. Soap, [words indistinct] cigarettes, the container from the port, and all the other things. We have to fight against this evil. We cannot solve [words indistinct] interests of the collective [words indistinct] good desires to eliminate the existence of the black market. But when I see what it gives, I do not agree with [words indistinct]. They claim it does [words indistinct], well, I say the opposite. I say this gives less. It provides fewer goods for the people, definitely, really.

We made a great mistake, an enormous mistake, when we set up the free farmers markets. We are a party, democratic centralism exists, and we must obey it. If you agree tomorrow on the free farmers markets, I will be the first to obey. The party leadership agreed on it. I naturally had my opinions, but I respected, and I do not want to evade my responsibility, perhaps it is a great responsibility [words indistinct] that wonder. But, well, it is an idea. The issue came up every time we experienced a crisis. Whenever we had a crisis, when we were short of this or that, the idea popped up. Those who defended the idea, some of those who defended the idea are not among us. They did not have a clue of what a crisis is. Problems are the ones we are having now.

They said we lacked some hard currency, or we lacked something, some poultry, some chickens, some turkey. And we were able to obtain some of that. It was a mistake in many senses. Well, everyone who visited Moscow saw free farmers markets. Very good. But in Moscow, all the agricultural workers and all the cooperative members had a piece of land. They had agricultural production. In addition, they used the enterprise's grain for the chickens, cows, or pigs. I remember that Khrushchev in that famous congress when the (?Stalin) [words indistinct]—I read real thick books on this and went around philosophizing a lot about all this—they themselves were beginning to discover that the free farmers markets

[word indistinct] was negative. They, [words indistinct]. I remember when they replaced him for reasons of health and age, [words indistinct] one of the things they accused him of was that he was against the small farm plots. And they gave more plots, more facilities, and more grain for the small plots. It was a political thing. [Words indistinct] but Khrushchev said at that famous congress—Carlos, you who know so much about the history of the communist movement, look up what congress that was, I think it was in 1961 or around there 1960—the one where [word indistinct]. In the beginning he denounced it, but later [words indistinct] the first congress of the CPSU after the triumph of the [Cuban] revolution. A tremendous problem, and I will not forget it. I was thinking about all this. When they thought they could catch up with the United States, which was another of their crazy ideas, or one of their crazy ideas, they tried to introduce the consumer society as an ideal and a concept of socialism. That was one of the great ideological mistakes of socialism, I say. But no one has analyzed this. We had thought about analyzing it, but it will take some time to do. One of the great strategic mistakes was to put into people's heads to consume, consume, consume, to reach the levels of the United States. All that is madness. But he was sincerely concerned [words indistinct] and he launched fertilizer production program, a great program in those years, and was concerned about all those small farms. And the disorder this brought about because many farmers worked the small farms but did not work the collective land. Yet they used the grain. If I were given a piece of land the size of the floor in front of this table, and they give me the grain, I would raise 10,000 chickens. So they raised the animals, and produced milk, meat on that land. It is the most unproductive way of producing. With a good feed formula, well-balanced, which we, gentlemen, unfortunately, cannot have now since one day we get corn, the next we get wheat, and then the next we get soy, the formula has to be changed every day.... [changes thought] Because of all these problems that I have already explained, and because we do not have the money to go out and buy it on the international market from enormous distances away, nor the ships.... [changes thought] The other day I did not mention that some of the merchandise the Soviet fleet used to bring must now be brought by our fleet which has grown a lot but is still not sufficient to bring what the country needs to import and take what the country needs to export to other places. Our fleet is not big enough to bring a considerable part of the merchandise the Soviets used to bring. With all the unfulfilled deliveries, it is impossible for us to ensure balanced feed for a poultry farm here today. Before, we even had our reserves. So, balanced feed gives results. You can use up to 3 kg for 1 kg of poultry meat, and so much feed for a dozen eggs. We had reached [word indistinct] levels, however, today these levels have been affected by the ingredients of the feed.

The most unproductive thing is for a person to feed them corn one day, wheat the next, something else the next, because what is spent to produce one pound of chicken or eggs is much higher. There is nothing more efficient than an enterprise [words indistinct] and so poultry-raising was developed. I do not recall how long eggs were unrestricted in this country. Where were they produced? All of them, 100 percent, were produced in the state enterprises. There were no eggs produced by small farmers. Beef in this country [words indistinct]. A large part of the sugarcane in this country is produced in the state enterprises. The cooperatives also participate [words indistinct]. The farmer also cooperated when we succeeded in the long struggle for him to hold back his sugarcane. Good prices were paid, but there were other things out there that provided more income on the black market.

The small farmers have a larger share in tobacco. They have a larger share in some crops, in the coffee crop. In our country it is really the state enterprises that supply most of the food. Almost 90 percent of the rice is produced by the state enterprises. There are some good cooperatives, and we want to help them, encourage them, give them flat terraces so that they will produce more. The thing is that in this country it is the noble state that produces the food. The state also produces food for 40 million people in the world, in calories, mostly for [words indistinct] agriculture that produces. But what is not produced also matters. Wheat for bread, powdered milk, cattle feed. Much of that came from the socialist bloc. Another part of it had to be bought with hard currency from the West. We had to depend on others for some of our supplies.

We began the free farmers market when the organization of our cooperatives was, with great good sense, based on collective self-sufficiency. Otherwise, in a country where land [words indistinct] like in the USSR where a town is 3 km long and 3 km wide [words indistinct]. What town can we build on the farms. [Words indistinct] a greater percentage of arable land. The farmers' cooperatives could have their own child care centers, schools, all those things, drinking water, electricity. Because giving a piece of land to each person forces you to build farmers' communities [words indistinct] state enterprises collective self-sufficiency. Cooperative farms, collective self-sufficiency. Pepe was right in saying that [words indistinct] defend the idea of small farms within the enterprises. The farmers of the cooperatives [words indistinct] and a number of farmers have their piece of land somewhere. One or two hectares that he received for [word indistinct] the land. [Words indistinct] three fundamental factors, the production of [words indistinct]. The credit and services cooperatives, the agricultural production cooperatives, and the [word indistinct] cooperatives are the fundamental factors for supplies. So, we had a farmers market, even for some farmers who did not have the piece of land they had in the USSR, but who had 60 hectares, 40 hectares, 30 hectares. When a farmer like that, paying any kind of wages to harvest a caballeria of garlic, harvested 1,000 or 1,500 quintals and sold a bunch of garlic for $1. He got thousands of dollars [words indistinct] and that farmer who had

4,0000 square meters, 3,000 in the USSR, a farmer had one, two, three, four, five caballerias [words indistinct] at free prices. If the prices are not free, then there is no free farmers market. [Words indistinct] 20, 30 or 40 percent more. Either it is free or it is not free. Why? Otherwise, why would they do it.

They began to earn large amounts of money. The cooperative movement was going to hell. It would have been good for this country for the cooperative movement to continue its progress until one day [words indistinct] we would have had to find combines, machinery, [words indistinct] We would have had to [words indistinct] a plane to spray herbicide, pesticide, or spray fertilizer. None of that can be done. You cannot use modern technology and machinery on the large plantations. [sentence as heard] You have to go with a backpack and do everything by hand. Sugarcane must be cut by hand [words indistinct] cane-growing farmers here. [Words indistinct] the city workers. For years we had thousands of farmers who did not cut cane. We had to plant and cut the sugarcane for them. The money was put in the money in the bank. Has this ever been done anywhere in the world? Nowhere. Some measures were taken: Well, sirs, if you cannot work the land, then sell it. Do something, but work it. So we made the free farmers markets for a group of farmers who had land, and they had quite a bit of land. They made large amounts of money. Not all of them; there were many farmers who always refused to go to the free farmers markets. They felt ashamed to. Their sense of honor prevented them from going there. But, there were some of those apostles of socialism, which we have had in this country, who felt that other problems had to be solved. They claimed that to compete with the farmers and lower the prices, the cooperatives should also be included in the free markets and compete with the farmers.

In order to compete with the farmers, the state should also participate in the free farmers markets. A tremendous distortion was caused in the existing cooperatives. They began to produce things that had nothing to do with agriculture. They wanted to have restaurants, bars, parties, businesses, motels, manufacture of handicrafts, and what is worse, some cooperatives that could produce these things, took their permits, got hold of an illegal vendor, bought all the vendor's products, and sold it as if they had produced it. All of this occurred. When rectification began, all this had to be stopped, really.

What did many farmers do? They would hold back some of what they were giving the state and would sell it on the free farmers markets. The fertilizer they received for their sugarcane, instead of using it on the cane, with which we buy oil, wheat, rice, and so many things from the USSR, they would use to fertilize some rows planted with garlic and a number of other things. They made a larger profit by using the fertilizer on those things than on the sugarcane. Should I use the fertilizer for this or for that? For something that I can sell at a very high price? Should I use it for this or that? Keeping up the sugarcane became a real headache, with the business they could have selling some of those other things at the free farmers markets. It was better business to have a few chickens, plant a little corn. The few chickens could be sold for 5 or 6 pesos a chicken. All that happened. We began to corrupt these farmers. We should have won them over to socialism, and the cooperatives, and modern production, and for the production that was needed. And what did we do? [Words indistinct] and many laughed at cooperative members.

I had an idea that with rectification, the free farmers markets had to be eliminated. We had to study it, take some time, analyze everything well. One of the first things that was done was to start a parallel market as a source of income and to achieve a financial balance. A pound of rice was being sold for 1 peso, and the state is giving them a ration of rice. The state should be selling it and the money used to find those things that Rodriguez was concerned about—the financial balance. The parallel market was a way of [words indistinct] to meet some needs and collect money. Not money that was going to end up in private pockets or one man's pockets. This was money for the state's pocket and used for hospitals, schools, the country's development, to help people. What does the state want money for? Where does the state's money go? There may be excess staffing, excess everything, but there are 300,000 professors and teachers who must be paid. There are doctors and nurses, 700,000 people in the health and education services who are paid by the state.

Well, the market, the parallel market was expensive. The parallel market took its prices from the farmers markets, and became a source of state income, because we knew there was a need for (?products) not only for the cooperative movement. It was not only that people here began to get very rich. Materials were sold freely in some places, in Havana. People from Santa Clara would come with their trucks and all to get the materials that were sold freely in Havana in order to build themselves little palaces. When were we going to start building cooperatives if all the peasants were [words indistinct] buying the materials without restrictions.

Intermediaries arose, and they brought plantains and all those things from as far away as Holguin. They began to affect the production of the state enterprises. They made themselves comfortable. How wonderful! They planted two or three things and did not plant a parsley plant, or a garlic plant—nothing! The free farmers markets made the state enterprise people happy. Did they plant okra, string beans, or condiments? None of those. Now there is a program for planting condiments to take them directly to the small markets. There was none of that. [words indistinct] and this began to affect the basic production of the small farmers themselves, because of what I have explained about the fertilizer and other things. That is what the country's economy depended on.

We corrupted the small farmers. There are many very wealthy farmers. I know very wealthy farmers. They became rich honestly, without the free markets, because

a farmer who has one good caballeria of potatoes, can earn tens of thousands of pesos. The state buys potatoes, pesticides, fertilizers, and an honest, hardworking farmer who needs workers and pays them 20, 30, or 40 pesos, can earn 30,000 or 40,000 pesos a year. I know good, honest farmers who have hundreds of thousands of pesos, and never participated in the free farmers markets. Because the prices the state pays to the farmers are really very high, and the state sells at low prices.

One of the things that I think we must do in some cases is to find a better balance of prices. We want to encourage the production of some things by our farmers [words indistinct], we must pay a little higher price. We must raise some of the prices a little for some agricultural products in order to encourage the farmers' production. One plants something that gives him a lot, and another does not want to plant it. When one has to deal with the farmers, one has to pay them a price for their products so that they will not [words indistinct] and plant other things the populace needs. [Words indistinct] raise some of the prices a little for some things. Some are too cheap [words indistinct] could cultivate other things. But of course, [words indistinct] the price of the product rises. Some prices have already been raised and [words indistinct] on the market to encourage the production, which is the only thing that we are all talking about and not the pricing policy.

We have not wanted to solve the problem through pricing. The comrade president of the State Committee for Finance explained here the problems arising from an excess of circulating currency. But under special period conditions, it is impossible to prevent an excess of circulating currency unless we begin doing what they do in other countries which is to put half the workers out on the street. Raising prices sky-high is the solution applied everywhere, in capitalism and neoliberalism. We have even refused to raise the price of electricity. We have preferred the vexatious work of persuading conscientious people not to use so much electricity, while there are shameless people who do not use less. We do not want to leave a single citizen without a job, leave a single citizen without an income even though we cannot guarantee him a job. We do not want to leave a single citizen unprotected. Only socialism can do this.

But what can we do in the special period, when the amount of goods has decreased? If we are receiving $3 billion less in goods than we were received in 1989? It is $3 billion less, when you total everything that no longer comes from the USSR, plus what no longer comes from other socialist countries [words indistinct] dollar to dollar, it costs more. Can you imagine what it means for this country that in less than two years it has stopped receiving $3 billion in imports, that exports [as heard] have dropped by half, and we do not want to sacrifice anyone. If we continue with this principle of not sacrificing anyone, how can we not have a financial imbalance? The monthly income in money that is received is more than what is spent. [as heard] Anyone can do the mathematical calculation and find out how many people have to be turned out into the street or how far wages have to be reduced, or how far prices have to rise. Try to match that. Who does this hurt? Who? Someone who has 300,000 or 400,000 [not further specified], those who had the free farmers market and all that. Who does this hurt? The poorest people, the retired people. It is not that we do not think that some things can be done, but whatever is done in any sense, must always be such that it will not hurt the low-income workers, the honest ones who live off their wages, who are not illegal vendors, who do not go around stealing things. [applause]

These are very delicate subjects, and we have considered them again and again. Now, excess money is worth less. That is why the price of a cake of soap has gone up and things run short. That is why a packet of cigarettes, and bars of soap, and all those things [cost more]. Now, we are talking about this moment. We do not know [what is going to happen] if the situation gets more complicated. The plans for a special period in wartime involve evacuating many cities. The [words indistinct] plans for special period in wartime. We do not yet know what kind of measures we will have to take if fuel is reduced to half or one third of what we have today. We must think about this. [Words indistinct] to meet our goals. We must think about what we are going to do. Can we perhaps [words indistinct] in hard currency? [Words indistinct] and money does not have the same value. Perhaps the most likely thing is that they will keep it so that they can exchange it for a cake of soap, or for this or that. For something I do not have. He takes [his products] to the market, collects the money, and what does he buy?

But we had corruption. There were small farmers.... [changes thought] As a rule, there were no old junkers left. With a few exceptions, there were no old cars left which did not end up in the rural areas. The small farmers were able to buy up however many of the old junkers. Not only those who participated in the free farmers markets, but some who earned their money honestly did this, because of the prices of the goods they received. I know honest farmers who have their cars. They paid 20,000 or 25,000 [pesos]. Others used to go to the cities, and they bought those apartments we had given to workers and families in the cities for their daughters or sons, or newly married couples, or students. They paid 20,000 or 25,000 or 30,000 or 40,000 pesos for an apartment. They had surplus money.

Of course, the illegal vendors also do this. Of course, thieves also do this. Embezzlers do this. They do this. But with the free farmers markets, we established a process of corrupting the farmers. We harmed the major economic sectors. The cooperatives and state enterprise almost got involved in this. Of course, the situation is not the same everywhere. It does not happen in a town with a few farmers around it, but it does happen in the large cities; it happens in Havana where there are 2 million inhabitants. [Words indistinct] if not these plans we are making now, if not these plans. [repeats]

How are we going to supply them when we have to produce 15 million [quintals] of vegetables and tubers in Havana and we have never even reached 10 [million quintals]? But with these plans that we have talked about we are going to reach 15 million. We have to reach the 15 million under conditions which are more difficult than the conditions at the time when the plans were created. The first drafts of the plans were done in 1989, 1990. We had large amounts of fertilizers and many other resources we do not have today. But we drafted plans to produce the amount of food that the city needs. We would not be able to supply these large cities if it were not for the food program.

Therefore, it is logical that more dreams of a free farmers market reappear when the parallel market had to be eliminated. Why did we have to eliminate the parallel market? Because everyone asked that whatever was being sold there, was evenly distributed among all, even if it was only a can a month. [Words indistinct] do not sell it unrestricted anymore. The people asked for this. They said: look, do an equitable distribution, so at least we get a little. [applause] How are we going to sell a chicken on the parallel market which brings in a lot of pesos when there are no chickens to fill the quota. Or, how can we sell rice or beans when there is none to fill the quota? When we established the parallel market we were clear on this from the beginning. Whenever a product that is being sold is missing from the quota, it will be automatically eliminated from the parallel market. This was the condition on which the creation of the parallel market was based. When products started to be sparse, the parallel market was eliminated.

There were some products that were being sold freely, similar to a parallel market but different, products were not in the quotas, were being sold at a determined price. Yogurt could have been sold at 60 centavos. We did not want to implement a policy on this. What did the people ask? That yogurt be distributed to them. [Passage indistinct] being sold freely everywhere. Because the people asked that it be [words indistinct].

I now ask myself, if we are going to have free farmers markets, is it not a contradiction that a chicken is sold there for 10 pesos. A man with lots of money can easily pay up to 20 pesos for that chicken. What is going to be the people's reaction? Happiness? Unless the people hold the false illusion that any four bums will overload Havana with chickens. What are the people going to say when they try to buy a chicken and it costs 20 pesos? They will say, why not distribute it by the gram among everybody? It is paradoxical, that on one side the people had asked that everything that was being sold freely be sold at normal prices and were happier because now they could get things that they never got before.

The line stander [colero], the man standing in line to buy the cream cheese being sold, for as many things as could be sold freely the line stander was the man in business. Many people say: I cannot stand in line. Please! Bread? Sorry, I cannot stand in line. The line standers were the ones buying bread freely [therefore we] rationed the bread. Would it not be a great contradiction if we now were to begin to freely sell chickens at 20 pesos when the people had asked that all products be regulated? How long is the line going to be in order to buy a chicken freely? Tell me, do we really gain anything from this, from restarting the process of corruption? [Audience shouts: "No!"] That is my reasoning. It is a contradiction. It can be nothing more than an illusion to think that this could solve a problem, because when this existed, all the quotas had no backlog. When the free farmers markets were eliminated the parallel market still existed, and it lasted for years. In the parallel market, even turkeys, rabbits, pigs, and a lot of other things were sold without hampering anybody's quota. Sometimes things we imported things or special productions were ordered. Everyone asked that free sales be halted. Then, where is the logic of the people asking for a free farmers market?

There is something else. Rodrigo [not further identified] said that [words indistinct] much money around the place and we recently had to make a very serious decision to solve the cigarette problem. We already explained why we had to do this. The machines were too old, lack of discipline, absenteeism, lack of raw material, disorganization. [Words indistinct] all the factories are located in the east [corrects himself] in the west. We are planing to built two factories here in Oriente to avoid having to bring truck loads of cigarettes. We have old factories in good repair in this region so that we can open two factories here. But it all got disorganized, [words indistinct] the coordination on the part [words indistinct].

This was a sector that during the days of capitalism had enjoyed certain privileges. When the regulation of wages began, they kept their traditional wages, but well, there was bad management, bad administration, lack of rigorousness. This gave rise to problems even of theft of cigarettes. The party in Havana has fought against this, and I can assure you that a tremendous effort has been made. It continues to be made and will continue to be made. Besides this, an incredible amount of money, and the lack of other products has increased demand for cigarettes. What should we do with cigarettes? Cigarettes are not milk, yogurt, cream cheese, beans, or anything. Do we ration them? How do we reconcile rationing with a campaign against smoking? It is the devil. I said to a comrade here: Do not smoke. To a young man, I said: Do not smoke. I recommend that you not smoke. And on the other hand I am ordering two or three packets of cigarettes. This is the same man I am telling that he will die because he smokes. There is a tremendous contradiction in this [words indistinct]. It is like the famous [words indistinct] and the lack of the product. [Words indistinct] and suddenly we said we are also going to ration them. There was not even a campaign against smoking then. Then a parallel market was started when there was a surplus, with much higher prices. We had a dilemma. What do we do with this poison. Do we ration it, do we distribute it? We put a very high price on it

because it is poison and we also collect money. It balances things out. We talked about putting a lower price on cigarettes, a little more than 3 pesos, not 10 or 5 or 6, and sell them without restrictions. The executive committee analyzed this a lot. Then we met with the Havana people's government bodies, all the presidents of the councils [words indistinct]. Then we met with the organizing commission. We said: We are not going to get the party into this on the eve of the congress. The almost unanimous opinion was, as painful and paradoxical as it would be, not to solve this through pricing. In spite of the fact that it is poison. The absolutely majority view prevailed that they should be distributed through rationing. Do you know how many pesos the state will no longer receive because of this? Nine hundred million [currency not specified]. Look what we could have done with that money. The state would have received 900 million [currency not specified]. And now that we are in the special period we established the policy. We said that new factories would be opened and an effort made to increase production. The other things can be sold without restrictions when they are sold, without any rations or increases in rations. The new amounts of poison are going to be sold at very high prices. Well, we will collect money from those who have it, and we already know who has it. But we will get a little money. That is the idea, the idea of increasing rations. But the state will no longer receive 900 million per year, in order not to harm those who have less, so that those who have more money will not smoke and now we are going to establish the free farmers markets so that hundreds of millions [of pesos] will end up in the hands of private individuals, and what is sold there would be part of what is delivered or must be delivered? I think that [words indistinct]. What do we do with the small farmers? We are working with them, and our relations with the small farmers are very good. Our relations are not bad. They are not all the same. There are many farmers who are very good and very revolutionary.

How are we doing the plans in Havana? In Havana we have 22,000 hectares owned by the state, and 10,000 hectares owned by the cooperatives, and 10,000 hectares owned by private individuals.

What is this service from? I am not referring to those who have [words indistinct] tubers and vegetables in Havana are based on those 42,000 hectares. We have increased this amount by almost 5,000 hectares [words indistinct]. Since the rectification process began, 750 caballerias that had been planted with sugarcane were planted with tubers and vegetables. This has also been done in Santiago. In spite of this, sugar production has not dropped. We even plan to increase it. We plan to put in irrigation and all that—that is if we can, right? If we have a minimum of fuel.

In the entire country, more than 5,000 caballerias have been turned from sugarcane to growing tubers and vegetables, since the rectification process began. The amount of land area with irrigation has doubled in this country. The water management system has been revived in this country, and we are building more projects than ever. We are even building a dam on the Mayari River, and we are building a tunnel to carry the water from the Mayari River to northern Holguin and central Holguin, where it is so dry. We intend to carry the water one day from all that northern part, the Sagua River and all that, to Las Tunas. Think of what a project that is, and we are working on these projects to make the water supply even more and more secure.

When we have droughts, like this year in these provinces, it is hell. But we are building dams, minidams, irrigation system, canals as if the devil were after us. They are primarily for tubers and vegetables, and for sugarcane. The province has 100 caballerias of bananas; 70 of these have microjet irrigation, and 30 have Fregat irrigation machines. This is for bananas, right? How many caballerias have Fregat irrigation?

[Unidentified speaker] Thirty and 70 with microjet irrigation.

[Castro] And 70 with microjet irrigation. This is a great effort. In Havana the peasants are working. I meet frequently with the state enterprises, the agricultural production cooperatives, and the credit and services cooperatives. That is how we draw up the plans to supply 2.1 million inhabitants plus those in Havana, which gives 3 million people. Do not draw up a plan with irrigation and equipment, do not devote what little fertilizer we have to this alone, and see iff you can really supply the 2 million, the 3 million people we must supply here. There are more when you count some of them twice, in the schools and the factories.

What have we told the farmers. Well we have told them: Look, we need this many potatoes. How many do you want to plant, 10, 20, 30, 50 [not further specified]? Plant them. We do not tell them: Look, you have to plant this many potatoes. We say: How much garlic do you want? Oh, you want all garlic. It is a profit-making crop. They can have all garlic—the farmers off the credit and services, not the cooperatives; the cooperatives operate with a lot more coordination. There has been the same coordination as with the enterprises. But we have to ask the individual farmers what they want to plant. We need so many caballerias of carrots. How many do you want? This many. They like to plant carrots, it grows almost wild. How many [words indistinct]. We let them choose what they like, and we give them seeds and all possible resources.

Of course, we are introducing real technology into state production. We have acquired some experience as have some small farmers who have small plots. The tomato seeds, the sweet potatoes, how these should be planted to get 7,000, 8,000, 10,000 quintals; what varieties of yucca should be planted. [Words indistinct] yucca seeds and sweet potato seeds. They came from the provinces. Somewhere around there we have a plan of what we calculate Havana will need. We have reduced potatoes a

little to plant more yucca, because potatoes are expensive—the seeds and pesticides. But we have perfectly coordinated the plans in a very orderly way between the three sectors: the state, the cooperatives, and the small farmers, with whom we have excellent relations.

They even have enough money to make candy. Do you know what we tell our peasants? What is needed is patriotism. I know that to obtain money you do not have to do much. But the country needs you. The country needs your help. It does not matter if you have 200,000 or 300,000 pesos, the country needs the food that can be produced in those lands. We are appealing beyond the peasant's spirit of gain to their patriotic spirit. What is money today? If you have 300,000 pesos what do you want 350,000 pesos for? You can just sit at home and do nothing. We are offering them the best technologies they can get. There are some crops that are grown in small plots. Some crops. That is not possible with sugarcane or rice. [Words indistinct] garlic, some onions, some types of crops in which the great plantation is not the solution. A great plantation and mechanization is the solution to the major and fundamental crops. But I have been working with the farmers and have some experience. In the last year, I have dealt and visited a lot with peasants and I believe that today you can conquer peasants more with with patriotism than with money. I can tell you. [applause]

They have money. Some crops they like more than others because they are more familiarized with them. They could probably produce more and maybe increase their wealth a bit, but that is not the most important thing. I know some outstanding peasants with very good production who are very patriotic and decent and only their friendship, their love of the country, their love for the revolution inspires them more.

I do not know the details of how things are in every province, but there are areas in Pinar del Rio where they have planted hundreds of caballerias with tomatoes. There are thousands of people of Havana. I want you to tell me how those people move, what money do they use to move to the southern part of Havana Province in these months of November, December, January, and February, to those solitary places where there are no trees and the mosquitoes appear in great numbers. I have gone there to visit the citizens of the city, people like this comrade from Plaza who just spoke to us, from Guanabacoa, and other places. Under the hot sun, because even in winter it is still hot. When the southern winds blow it drives anyone crazy. You cannot even see because of the dust that rises. Then there are mosquitoes and [word indistinct].

Thousands of people go there and I ask myself, what money could motivate these people to go there? No one is forced into farming. When we cannot give a person a job in the city, they go home. You can move them from this factory to the other, but go to the south of Pinar del Rio and take that, you cannot do that with money, comrades. And I will tell you that if we are not capable of creating an awareness among the people, the workers, the party members, the young people, and the farmers, of appealing to their patriotism, and appealing to the supreme values of the nation, honor, the people's interests, justice, for which so many times throughout history man has given his life, then we cannot [words indistinct]. We will not resolve [words indistinct] cigarettes and everything. It helps and I will not deny it. And that woman who was here, she does not look like a rustic farmer, yet she is chief of a brigade and has been there for eight or nine months. She has also promised to remain there for two years, and keeps saying that she wants to stay there longer. How can this be done? She says that they are going to exceed 120,000 or 130,000 quintals. They are going to double what they had, and triple it. Of course, the banana plantations and all those other things [words indistinct]. They had the best seed, they had more experience. But is it not wonderful to see people like this.

How many have gone from Havana to the countryside? There have been 200,000. How many have enrolled in contingents? About 15,000. If we wanted all of them to be in contingents, tomorrow we would have them all in contingents. We have not wanted to do this for political reasons. We want the people to participate. The contingents are more productive and more experienced. [Words indistinct] we wanted to make them all contingents. The contingents are obtaining fabulous results.

Can this be done for money? We give the best attention to the people because [words indistinct]. What you have to buy at a store with money you can do with the money you earn, with less than what you earn, or with what you receive when you are going home. I have witnessed this movement for more than a year out there. I used to ask myself whether they would get tired, bored. The early days were difficult ones. There was bad management, little experience. You do not know what these people have learned. The farmers also. If we want them to produce more, we will achieve this with the means we are employing. It is true. Now more people go to buy things. I do not know with what trucks, what fuel, with what things they are going to go to Havana, for example, to deliver the merchandise.

We use a large truck that is not fuel efficient to carry merchandise to the agricultural distribution centers. We take it. Do we not?

We have to do much more political work with the peasants. We need to meet with them more. There has to be more control. [Words indistinct] three hectares of carrots must be three and not two and a half. We must improve the collection system. It was operating poorly, very poorly. [audience murmur: "No. No."] What I mean is we are doing it. Lalo [not further identified] could talk at length on what has been done to improve the collection system. In the capital we have built agricultural distribution centers. We will continue to study the problem and find solutions. If your products are not picked up, take them to the agricultural distribution

centers, but do not take them to the peasant's free markets. Take them to a small market, or take them to an agricultural distribution center. We can even pay you a little more, a small amount more to cover expenses so that you do not lose money. It could be done in different ways. We must think of all the things that have been presented here and all that must be done. I believe that the way we are working now is how we should be working to resolve the supply problem.

Free farmers markets would complicate the situation very much. It would disorganize everything we are doing, and I am completely convinced that it would sow corruption and demoralization. I am convinced that this is true. If things get worse, what will it be like? Imagine if part of the population had to move to the countryside, just imagine. How would we distribute things? With money? With free markets? Because it is during times of crisis when there is the least amount of unrestricted things. During wars, the capitalist countries put a halt to everything that is sold freely, and they establish food coupons, rationing. Are we, a socialist country in the midst of a special period, and without having yet entered its worse stage, going to invent new market mechanisms? Sell things without restrictions? Bring all these consequences down upon ourselves?

You will forgive me for having spoken at such length, but I felt it was essential to talk about these problems [words indistinct] the story of what we did not do, what we did then, and how we did it. What we are going to do now is precisely to find a solution to these problems. It seemed necessary to me, even though you, almost unanimous, presented the problem, I thought there was still something about this problem that had to be focused. [applause]

In addition to all these things, I have great respect for the delegate from Pinar del Rio [applause] because he had things to say and he said them with all honesty, integrity, and courage. Some of the things he said the first day were useful, and some of the things he mentioned today are a reality: the black market and all that. We thank him because he gave us the opportunity to broach this issue at this congress. We will discuss this, and any other issue we may have to discuss, here in this congress. We thank him because he has given us the opportunity to demonstrate the respect, liberty, and democracy with which we discuss these issues here. [applause]

Cozumel Statement Urges End to U.S. Embargo

FL2410184291 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1255 GMT 24 Oct 91

["Our Opinion" commentary by Orlando Contreras]

[Text] Apart from what is included in the documents, which are generally worked carefully in times of political and economic difficulties such as those our subcontinent is experiencing, I believe yesterday's meeting in Cozumel shows that there is much common work to be done between Latin American and Caribbean countries, and that in spite of what Washington would like, Cuba is not alone.

I am going to focus on a paragraph from the Cozumel Declaration which was signed yesterday by the presidents of Mexico, Colombia, and Venezuela. I will quote verbatim: Also, convinced that a negotiated solution to the conflicts between states is the main rule in current international affairs, the presidents expressed their political determination to contribute to a climate of understanding and cooperation in the region and offered the Cuban Government, and countries which have differences with Cuba, their good offices to initiate a rapprochement leading to the normalization of ties—and this is important—based on respect for their legitimate interests, and strict adherence to international law. The paragraph ends there.

As you can see, the whole paragraph obviously does not mention the United States. But, since our country has no pending dispute with any other country, it is evident to whom they are referring. The good offices offered by the Group of Three are aimed at initiating a rapprochement leading to the normalization of ties—I am quoting from the declaration you have just heard—based on, and I repeat that this is the key, respect for their legitimate interests, and strict adherence to international law.

Yesterday, during the press conference, when a Mexican reporter asked Fidel what signals Cuba and the United States could give to promote a thaw in their relations, Fidel was specific. He said: An unmistakable sign would be an unconditional end to the economic embargo against Cuba which has lasted for more than 30 years; the return of territories occupied by the naval base in Guantanamo; and the end of the aggressions, threats, and hostilities against Cuba. These would be good signs, Fidel said.

It is evident, because of the inclusion of this paragraph in the Cozumel Declaration, that Latin America, specifically these three countries—these three important countries that compose the group—have made an absolutely correct evaluation of what Cuba has gone through these 30 years. This country has been attacked, and continues to be attacked after almost three decades. Even President Carlos Andres Perez, who has also formulated certain views concerning our country, which we do not share, said yesterday that the embargo against Cuba must end, because it has demonstrated its ineffectiveness and can no longer be justified at all.

I believe that the signs of the times, the language of these times in Latin America and the Caribbean, indicate that the unyielding position of the United States—of eight successive administrations that have governed in the White House—is the erroneous viewpoint, and that in persisting in maintaining a hostile policy against our country, the United States is turning its back on reality, and historical evolution.

Media Gives 'Broad Coverage' to G-3 Summit

PA2410193091 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 1834 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Havana, 24 Oct (NOTIMEX)—The Cuban news media today gave broad coverage to the presidential summit meeting of the Group of Three [G-3] (Venezuela, Mexico, and Colombia) and the special participation of Cuban President Fidel Castro.

The entire front page of the newspaper GRANMA, the mouthpiece of the Communist Party of Cuba (PCC), is devoted to the Cozumel meeting. It highlights Castro's remarks to the press and the final declaration made by Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez, and Colombian President Cesar Gaviria.

Cuban radio and television also spent a large amount of their time highlighting Fidel Castro's special visit, which took place shortly after the conclusion of the Fourth Congress of the PCC, where the PCC reaffirmed its socialist option.

Local media sent their own correspondents. That is why almost all the information reported in Havana highlights Fidel Castro's positive participation at the presidential meeting.

The news media are also focusing on the need to promote Cuba's full integration into the Latin American system, as this topic has been constantly brought up since the first Ibero-American summit was held in Guadalajara, Mexico.

As part of the large coverage given to this summit meeting, Cuban television will tonight broadcast the news conference held by the G-3 presidents, as well as the news conference Fidel Castro hosted in Cozumel shortly before returning to Havana.

Havana Reports Fidel Castro Return From Cozumel

FL2410134791 Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] The National News Agency, AIN, has reported that Commander in Chief Fidel Castro has returned from Mexico where Cuba participated as a special guest to the summit of the Group of Three. At the airport terminal, our commander in chief was greeted by Army General Raul Castro, minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, and Corps General Abelardo Colome Ibarra, minister of the Interior.

Colombia To Restore Ties, Open Consulate

FL2410150991 Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] The establishment of a general consulate in Havana has been made official by the Colombian Government through a decree which also defines the duties of this consulate. Colombia and Cuba, which had interrupted diplomatic relations 10 years ago, decided to reestablish consular ties during the Ibero-American Presidential Summit held in Guadalajara, Mexico. The Colombian representation in Havana will be headed by a general consul.

ANPP Amending Constitution, Electoral Law

FL2510011691 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 0000 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Report by Carlos Santana Rueda on the "Exclusivo" program]

[Text] Only a few minutes ago, Dr. Juan Escalona, president of the National Assembly of the People's Government [ANPP], said that ANPP is working to have ready, by December, the amendments to the country's constitution and electoral law. The amendments will be discussed at the national assembly to be held in late December.

[Begin Escalona recording] During the Fourth Congress of the Cuban Communist Party, our people said that our electoral system is democratic. [Words indistinct] procedures to amend the constitution and the electoral law. We are working on this right now so that our people will be able to cast direct and secret votes for their municipal and provincial delegates and ANPP deputies. [end recording]

Juan Escalona met with the representatives of the diplomatic academies and schools for international studies who are in Havana participating at a Latin American and Caribbean academic and diplomatic seminar on preparing for the tasks of the third millennium.

[Begin Escalona recording] The one thing that we have not been asked to do is discuss the situation of a one-party system. I have talked about the concept of a one-party system with many guests from around the continent, Europe, and the United States who have told me they do not understand why we are bent on [words indistinct]. As I have already told you, we are [words indistinct].

Several parties joined in the struggle against the Batista tyranny. When Batista was overthrown, a process to introduce revolutionary institutions in the country was begun. All those organizations had their own views. Then came the aggressions, sabotage, [word indistinct], and the blockade. This forced the country to unite in a single organization, to make a fist to confront the aggression [words indistinct]. We could not interpret this as [word indistinct] that would weaken our country in face of the aggressions. [end recording]

The representatives of the diplomatic academies and schools for international studies will visit the Hermanos Ameijeiras Clinical-Surgical Hospital to see what the Cuban revolution has achieved.

Canada Not To Alter Political, Trade Relations

FL2510041991 Havana Tele Rebelde and Cuba Vision Networks in Spanish 0100 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Canadian Ambassador to Cuba Robert Middleton stated on 24 October that, despite the changes in the world, Canada's traditional economic and political relations, and its cooperation with Cuba will remain unchanged. He added that, as has been the case over the past 30 years, the Canadian Government will continue to oppose the U.S. diplomatic and economic embargo against the island while continuing to conduct mutually beneficial trade with Cuba.

The ambassador told PRENSA LATINA that Canada will not allow foreign pressures or policies from a third country to hinder bilateral trade.

Option Zero Preparation Class in Pinar Del Rio

FL2410234791 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1255 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] The Pinar del Rio General Staff has begun to impart theoretical and practical instruction on Option Zero, that is, how to confront a situation in which there is neither fuel nor energy and how to continue defending the fatherland, the revolution, and socialism under those conditions. All the municipal general staffs are participating in the classes. The goal is to train all the special groups, the production and defense units, and the units of the Territorial Militia Troops to confront, should it become necessary, a war of all the people. It is important to note that in his introductory remarks, Brigadier General Carlos Lezcano Perez, chief of General Staff in Vuelta Abajo, said that through August, important missions have been carried out here in Vuelta Abajo and that a considerable reduction in the amount of fuel used has been attained. The purpose of this course is teach the people to use the available fuel in a responsible manner and to reduce consumption.

In the practical area, they will learn to use their own resources, gasoline generators [a fuel-saving device] for vehicles, as well as economizers built by the provincial general staff for use in light vehicles. They will also learn to decontaminate compressed air without the use of technology and to operate a radio station with an electrical power converter rather than with fuel. These classes are really very interesting and I hope to be able to expand more on them tomorrow.

Economic Importance of Food Program Stressed

PA2510023491 Havana Radio Havana Cuba in Spanish 1400 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Commentary by Roberto Morejon]

[Text] The food program is one of the most important Cuban economic commitments. It is aimed at defeating agricultural problems.

As everyone knows, Cuba is experiencing serious financial limitations that prevent it from acquiring all the fertilizers, forage, and other items it needs in the agriculture and livestock sectors.

The 50-percent import reduction Cuba is enduring, as a result of the cessation of commercial relations between the island and Eastern Europe and the irregular arrival of Soviet supplies, has had an impact on Cuban food supplies.

Cuban authorities have developed and implemented a food program aimed at satisfying food needs by finding autonomous solutions in line with the nation's potential.

The plan has transformed the country. It has required that technicians, scientists, peasants, and the people in general make a superior effort to increase production of beef, pork, chicken, eggs, tubers, and vegetables.

The plan is promoting territorial self-sufficiency in food; study and work centers; and military units that engage in initiatives to encourage production and the best possible use of the land.

The proliferation in cities and towns of vegetable gardens that are adequately linked to the national plans of the Cuban Agriculture Ministry has gained strength in the country, especially in the western province of Pinar del Rio.

The idea has gained support and the initial results have been good harvests that have served to improve food programs at childcare centers and, in some cases, the food supplies of state markets.

Pinar del Rio families were brought together by Committees for the Defense of the Revolution to work on vegetable gardens after being trained by experts with regard to cultivation programs and what to plant based on the season and the land's characteristics.

This method will contribute to solving food problems in an underdeveloped country such as Cuba.

Sugarcane Workers Charged With Economic Crimes

PA2510041791 Paris AFP in Spanish 2210 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Havana, 24 Oct (AFP)—The Cuban official news agency AIN [National News Agency] announced on 24 October that six sugarcane cutters had been sentenced by the court to between five and 18 years in prison for "sabotage against the national economy."

According to AIN the six sugarcane cutters burned several sugarcane plantations in the region of Matanzas (90 km east of Havana) between December 1990 and March 1991 to conduct unscheduled sugarcane harvesting.

They may have burned 5,750,000 kgs of sugar owned by the Espana Republica Sugar Refinery and valued at slightly less than 50,000 Cuban pesos ($50,000 at the official exchange rate).

The primary accused, Pascual Diaz Rodriguez, 61, was sentenced to 18 years in prison, as was Juan Valle Perez, 20. Alberto Ramos Rodriguez, 22, was sentenced to 13 years imprisonment, while Pedro Ramos Ballesteros and Francisco del Toro Nunez were sentenced to 10 years. Omar Diaz Munoz, 17, was sentenced to five years in prison.

The Fourth Cuban Communist Party [PCC] Congress, which ended last weekend in Santiago de Cuba, had requested a toughening of all penalties against economic crimes.

PCF Campaign To Send Crude Oil Successful

PA2410194891 Havana Radio Havana Cuba in Spanish 0000 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Maxime Gremetz, member of the Politburo of the French Communist Party, has told this station that the campaign of solidarity with Cuba organized by the French Communist Party to send an oil tanker to the island has been very successful. Gremetz added that he hopes that the shipment will arrive before the end of the year. Gremetz said that the campaign of solidarity with Cuba has had much impact, not only in France, but also in Germany, Greece, Italy, and other countries. Many monetary contributions have been made in these nations to send crude oil to Cuba in an effort to alleviate the consequences of the U.S. blockade.

Gremetz indicated that he has asked the French Government to increase its cooperation with Cuba and speak in favor of ending the U.S. blockade during the debate at the UN General Assembly in November.

Meanwhile, the Angola-Cuba Friendship Society has asked UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar to take steps toward putting an end to the U.S. economic and commercial embargo.

DPRK People's Assembly Delegation Arrives

FL2410124291 Havana Tele Rebelde and Cuba Vision Networks in Spanish 0100 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Yang Hyong-sop, the chairman of the DPRK Supreme People's Assembly, has arrived in our country at the invitation of the National Assembly of the People's Government [ANPP]. The DPRK delegation also includes (Kim Hwan), the director of the Americas Bureau of the DPRK Foreign Ministry; and (Kim Hwen), a Supreme People's Assembly deputy. The delegation will visit the Isle of Youth and hold talks with Cuban Government and party authorities.

Haiti

Government Reacts to International Sanctions

FL2510133491 Port-au-Prince Radio Nationale in French 1700 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Press release issued by the government in Port-au-Prince—date not given; live]

[Text] The Haitian Government reaffirms its willingness to initiate frank, constructive dialogue with all its international allies regarding the recent events in Haiti. It deplores the hasty, excessive character of certain stances and appeals to the seriousness, serenity, and equity that should govern relations between equal partners.

The Haitian Government states its firm belief that all measures which could penalize the poor people of Haiti, and even jeopardize the nation's existence, all hardly favorable to a propitious atmosphere for dialogue. The Haitian government, headed by Jean- Jacques Honorat, is shocked by the suspension of multilateral programs, humanitarian aid unilaterally withdrawn without notice and counter to the purposes of these programs. In addition, the government cites the uncommon character of these decisions, while hoping that mutual respect, reason, and law will finally triumph over the illicit temptations of political interference and clique bias.

The Haitian Government recalls that its people suffered in almost total isolation, amid public threats of lynching and the unspeakable practice of necklacing, terrorist attacks against the Parliament, and the enslavement of national institutions, and the damaging effects of fanaticism.

In conclusion, the government strongly petitions the international community to take Haiti's best interests seriously. It is convinced that the country's partners will weigh, with the necessary wisdom, the impact of their initiative on the future of Haiti and the Haitian people.

Havana Reports Aristide Arrives in Switzerland

FL2410180491 Havana Radio Progreso Network in Spanish 1725 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Overthrown Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide arrived today in Geneva, Switzerland. According to local sources, the purpose of his visit is to intensify support for the reestablishment of democracy in his country. Aristide will visit various European countries in search of support and to increase pressure on the Haitian government that took power by force on 30 September.

Eight-Day Fuel Stock Remains; Sales Restricted

FL2510002491 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1600 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Italicized passages in Creole]

[Text] Maurice Lafortune, president of the National Association of Petroleum Products Distributores, [ANADIP] announced that Haiti has only an eight-day stock of petroleum. The association as well as the Ministry of Commerce just established a new work schedule for gas stations: Monday through Friday from 0600 to 1800 and on Saturday from 0600 to 1400. Gas stations will be closed on Sundays and holidays.

ANADIP and the Commerce Ministry have also advised that only a reasonable amount of petroleum be sold and recommended that consumers reduce their fuel consumption. Some suggestions are: do not use the air conditioning in cars, maintain good air pressure in the tires, and avoid unnecessary travel or driving with just one person in the car. This is the ANADIP and the Commerce Ministry's advice for fuel conservation during this period. According to Maurice Lafortune, fuel is expected to last until October 31.

[Begin recording] [Lafortune] *We are negotiating with the appropriate powers, the ministers of commerce and finance. Everyone knows that petroleum products are becoming scarce. That is the reality; supplies are low. There is no need to lie. This information is essential for consumers. If this information were not available there would be gossip which could be used as disinformation. Press releases have been issued to inform consumers that petroleum products are very scarce and we have not yet determined how to continue services.*

[Rotchil] According to souces in Port-au-Prince, a ship carrying petroleum products from Curacao to Haiti was turned back. Is that true?

[Lafortune] The truth is the ship never returned. It was not loaded at all. Since Venezuela and Mexico have decided to restrict petroleum shipments no cargos have arrived. One ship was scheduled to be loaded but unfortunately, it was not loaded at all.

[Rotchil] As the president of ANADIP, how long do you think Haiti will have fuel?

[Lafortune] If consumers follow our recommendations, we believe the petroleum will last until 31 October. However, if consumers act emotionally and run to the gas stations, then fuel will not last the whole period. Petroleum companies and distributors are making a great effort to ensure that products last until 31 October. Fuel is being sold sparingly and, although petroleum companies sell fuel to make money, now that the country is in this difficult situation, they have set aside their goal of making money to serve the community as they should.

[Rotchil] Is the situation the same for diesel and gasoline?

[Lafortune] The situation is worse for diesel because diesel consumption is twice the consumption of gasoline. Public transport vehicles use mostly diesel. So the situation is worse for diesel than for gas. [end recording]

High Command Denies Opposition Officers' Arrest

FL2410222691 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1600 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] A member of the Army High Command formally denies the arrest of military personnel opposed to the coup on 30 September. The news is false and the Army is united in its action, stated a representative of the military high command to AFP. According to the supporters of the overthrown president, several military men opposed to the coup on 30 September have allegedly been imprisoned since that date and their lives are seemingly in danger. This information was denied by the Army High Command.

Aristide Reports Violations of UN Embargo

PA2410225191 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2318 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Caracas, 23 Oct (EFE)—Deposed Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide said on 23 October in Caracas that some countries are not respecting the economic embargo approved by the United Nations against his country and are "helping the coupist officers to remain in power."

Aristide, who did not specify which countries continue to trade with Haiti, said that despite the lack of compliance with the embargo, the situation in his country is critical because there is an approximately eight-day supply of petroleum.

Venezuela and Mexico suspended the delivery of 7,000 barrels per day of crude oil to Haiti, which, since the election of Aristide, began to enjoy the benefits of the San Jose Agreement. This agreement enables 11 Central American and Caribbean countries to receive petroleum from Mexico and Venezuela under special payment conditions.

Aristide, who was deposed on 30 September by a group of military officers led by General Raoul Cedras, was elected as president of Haiti December 1989, in the first free elections ever held in that Caribbean nation.

The deposed leader said that as the situation becomes more difficult the coupist officers increase the acts of repression and terror against the civilian population.

Aristide traveled to France today, at the invitation of the government of Paris, to discuss the current situation of his country following the military coup.

He will later travel to Switzerland for the same purpose. Aristide will return to Caracas on 30 October to join Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez in his visit to the Caribbean island of Dominica.

Seven Countries To Participate in OAS Embargo

FL2410211091 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1100 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Seven countries including the United States, France, Spain, Canada, Venezuela, Panama, and Bolivia are proving to be very interested in applying the OAS embargo against Haiti. On France's initiative, the European Economic Community adopted a resolution to stop all forms of aid to Haiti as recommended by the OAS. The most serious measures include the decision by Mexico and Venezuela to no longer sell Haiti petroleum products, a freeze on the Haitian Government's funds in Europe and other countries, and the cessation of trade with Haiti.

All 34 OAS countries voted in favor of the resolutions but they consented to the continuation of humanitarian aid to Haiti. Argentina, Chile, and the Caribbean countries said they would apply the embargo completely. Bolivia took the same position and announced that it had cut off all diplomatic and commercial relations with Haiti. In addition to its decision not to sell gas to Haiti, Venezuela has closed its embassy in Port-au-Prince and has already evacuated the entire embassy staff.

Panama has also closed its embassy and announced that it has curtailed all forms of assistance and cooperation with Haiti. Panama will have no commercial relations with this country. Canada and the United States have also taken the same decision. In addition, the State Department has imposed a freeze on all transfers of money to Haiti and the cessation of all agreements for technical and military cooperation with Haiti.

The 34 OAS-member countries met on 23 October to assess the current situation in Haiti. On that occasion, Joao Baena Soares, the OAS secretary general, said that only the aforementioned countries have already given an answer on the embargo decided by the OAS. He added that the other countries are preparing to make their positions known.

Senate President on OAS Negotiations

FL2410234591 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1600 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] In an interview granted to several journalists, the president of the Senate of the Republic, Dejean Belizaire expressed regret that three Haitian parliamentarians were attacked [reference to a confrontation in Miami] while out of the country visiting the OAS to negotiate the Haitian crisis. Senator Belizaire stated: It is a pity that such things occur at a time when all legislators are striving to find a legitimate solution to the Haitian crisis. He regretted that the parliamentarians' views clashed with the views of others. The president of the National Assembly denounces a scheme being plotted against several deputies and senators, including himself.

Regarding the Haitian parliamentarian delegation sent to the OAS, Senator Belizaire thinks it is necessary to await an end to the negotiations in order to know the results. If Father Aristide's supporters jeopardize the negotiations, we legislators are not to assume the responsibility, concluded Senator Belizaire.

As for the parliamentarians meeting with the OAS, Senator Guy Bauduy told reporters that he did not have authority to sign agreements. He said he would report to his colleagues and other Haitian institutions on the subjects discussed between the parliamentarians and the OAS. Conclusions could then be drawn. Senator Bauduy also advised that the parliamentarians would have further talks with the OAS in order to convey the stance of the various Haitian institutions on the crisis.

CHADEL Report on September Rights Violations

FL2510011891 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1100 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] According to the September bulletin of the Haitian Center for the Defense of Public Freedom [CHADEL], headed by Prime Minister Jean-Jacques Honorat, which talks about the death of Reverend Sylvio Claude, Claude was careful to advise the public that he would make a trip [to Les Cayes] and asked CHADEL to inform the whole international community about it. This precaution did not prevent a group of people in Quatre Chemins, near Les Cayes, from setting fire to the Haitian Christian Democratic Party leader and his car.

CHADEL's comments regarding the 30 September coup are based on two points. First, the Army did not use the means provided for by the Constitution to make the former administration listen to their demands and secondly, the military did not protect the parliamentarians while an investigation of the former prime minister was being made. CHADEL believes that it would not be easy for anybody to (?strictly follow) the Constitution in view of all the problems that prevailed under the previous government. Especially since that government had decided to establish a mob democracy instead of a democracy of law.

The September CHADEL bulletin also published a report prepared and sent to the Human Rights Inter-American Committee by the Committee of Lawyers for the Defense of Human Rights concerning Haitians working in the Dominican Republic. The bulletin included the lawyers' recommendations to the Dominican Government for relieving the Haitian compatriots' sufferings. These recommendations suggested that the Dominican Government stop employing children under 18 years old to cut sugar cane and that they stop forcing Haitian citizens to cut sugar cane, in compliance with Article 6 of the International Convention on Human Rights.

CHADEL further reported on 34 cases of human rights violations nationwide during the month of September. Twenty-five of these violations occurred in the capital

and the other nine—including the 29 September assassination of Rev. Sylvio Claude on the outskirts of Les Cayes—took place in cities in the provinces.

Their news section reported on Roger Lafontant's death in the National Penitentiary on 29 September. There was information on an attack against Harry Sanchez, lawyer for the Baptiste Convention, by a group of demonstrators and made observations on the case which opposed the convention and the Haitian state last August.

The case of Alphonse Civil, who was burned alive by a group of people in Parc Vincent, Gonaives, because he did things which they did not like, was printed on the last page of the September bulletin. Greater detail on damages which have resulted during these recent events were promised. They will be published in the October bulletin.

Current Government To Review National Budget

FL2510002691 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1100 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Remember that the Supreme Audit and Administrative Litigation Court has been in recess for three months while many cases are still awaiting final settlement. Members of the court have yet to plan the budget for the 1991-92 fiscal year (? and look into) other cases on payment authorization, central administration offices, autonomous organizations, and local communities.

A source close to the finance minister has said that the new government will review the 1990-91 budget, which was prepared by the Rene Preval government. The text of the budget was submitted to Parliament at the end of September but was not voted on because—say Haitian parliamentarians—it did not comply with constitutional norms.

El Salvador

Further on Vargas Peace Commission Comments

PA2410230291 San Salvador Canal Doce Television in Spanish 0300 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Colonel Mauricio Vargas, deputy chief of staff and member of the government Dialogue Commission, said he is convinced a cease-fire can be signed on 30 November at the latest. The New York Agreements expedite the peace talks between the government and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] General Command to put an end to 11 years of civil war, he noted. The necessary political agreements can be reached shortly to bring peace to El Salvador, the military chief indicated. Vargas, who was accompanied by the Salvadoran Armed Forces press chief, said that qualitative progress on this process depends on the rebels' responsibility and commitment.

[Begin Vargas recording] It could be perfectly ready by 30 November at the latest, as long as the FMLN shows its political commitment, seriousness, and responsibility to make this proposal a reality. [end recording]

Col. Vargas voiced his unhappiness with the rebels at the end of the Mexico talks, because he felt more progress could have been achieved on the abridged agenda. The sides concurred on eight points, reached an affinity on four points, but did agree at all on the purge of the security corps, a topic that represents two out of 14 points related to the Armed Forces. Talking to local and foreign correspondents, Vargas reiterated that the Peace Commission, which is in charge of verifying the Army purge and guerrilla demobilization must be solely comprised of Salvadorans.

[Begin Vargas recording] We have a reconciliation process. This process will lead to peace but, if we do not trust ourselves, others will have to come from abroad. We will continue living without trust. If we can not trust Salvadorans we certainly do not deserve peace. I think this process is for and by Salvadorans, and we must develop it within that context. [end recording]

The FMLN thinks three foreign participants should be included in the Peace Commission to guarantee the process to be followed to determine which servicemen will leave the Army. Col. Vargas felt that the participation of foreigners is not necessary and that we must trust ourselves, because no contribution will be made to the peace process otherwise.

Santamaria Views Needs for National Civil Police

PA2410234291 San Salvador Canal Doce Television in Spanish 0300 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Oscar Santamaria, head of the government Dialogue Commission said on 23 October that no one has acquired rights to join the National Civil Police. When commenting on the results of the peace negotiations that concluded on 21 October in Mexico, Santamaria said during an interview that in the recent peace negotiations the issue of the future of the Armed Forces had progressed 80 percent.

For Santamaria, spokesman for the government Dialogue Commission, the current structures of the security corps and of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front do not have quotas nor rights that would grant their immediate incorporation into the future National Civil Police. Although the New York Agreements provide for the incorporation of new personnel into the National Civil Police to be pluralistic and not discriminatory, the demobilized personnel will not be admitted automatically, Santamaria warned.

[Begin Santamaria recording] What exists is the possibility for any person to become a member of this security institution, no matter who he is; a combatant, a former member of the security corps, no matter who. In the future, anyone who meets the requirements can aspire to hold a position in an institution such as the National Civil Police. It is another thing for someone to claim that they have acquired rights or privileges to be accepted automatically; this is not the case. [end recording]

Santamaria said that the conflicting parties will have to comply with the agreements signed on 25 September at the United Nations to avoid difficulties in the negotiating process, which is progressing toward a cease-fire. Santamaria also recalled that demobilized members of the National Guard and Treasury Police could join the Armed Forces with specific duties that have been outlined in the negotiations, however, he explained that these duties will not involve public security.

Parties Reject Arena Conditions for Reforms

PA2510001291 San Salvador DIARIO LATINO in Spanish 22 Oct 91 p 1

[Text] Arena [Nationalist Republican Alliance] will not ratify the constitutional reforms due to the refusal by the other parties to include in the reforms the death penalty, privatization of public services, and to extend the concession time for foreign companies.

"We continue to insist that it is a package agreement and it must be ratified that way," Raul Somoza Alfaro, president of the Legislative and Constitutional Points Commission said when justifying his party's (Arena) withdrawal from the 23 October plenary meeting. This meeting is to ratify the constitutional reforms agreed to in Mexico by the Salvadoran Government and the guerrillas.

Somoza Alfaro clarified that the decision not to attend the plenary meeting is the responsibility of the Arena deputies participating in the legislative commission and "we do not believe this can interfere in the peace process."

"It is blackmail," exclaimed Democratic Convergence [CD] Deputy Juan Jose Martell. He explained that "in

exchange for the reforms, Arena wants to impose the death penalty, privatization, and hand over the country's riches."

Martell added that "Arena's decision is very serious" and is "a hard blow to the peace process."

Martell agreed with Ruben Zamora, also a CD deputy, that Arena's position is motivated by private interests. "We know there is division among them," Zamora said.

Christian Democratic Party Deputy Eduardo Colindres feels that Arena's attitude "goes against the peace accords" and said "we do not support reforms that have nothing to do with the peace process."

Officer Says DNI Elimination 'Inappropriate'

PA2510035691 San Salvador Canal Doce Television in Spanish 0300 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Colonel Francisco Elena Fuentes, commander of the 1st Infantry Brigade, termed as inappropriate the possible elimination of the National Investigation Directorate [DNI] before the armed conflict is over. Elena Fuentes said he believed that measures such as these should be discussed after peace has been attained.

Although he supports the submission of the Armed Forces to the political agreements that the government may reach with the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front], Col. Elena Fuentes suggested that in time of war, it is not advisable to eliminate Armed Forces intelligence units; that is the DNI. The 1st Infantry Brigade Commander added that the Armed Forces agrees on progressively transforming the military aspects that could become inoperative, as long as the FMLN abandons its armed struggle.

[Begin recording] [Elena Fuentes] We have tried to mature because we had a problem. If that problem disappears, many things will disappear.

[Reporter] What about the DNI, could it be eliminated during peace?

[Elena Fuentes] In times of peace it could be eliminated, although in any country, in any country in the world, intelligence organizations do exist.

[Reporter] While there is a war going on, is it advisable for the Armed Forces to eliminate the intelligence institution?

[Elena Fuentes] No, in my opinion it is not advisable. [end recording]

Meanwhile Col. Elena Fuentes lashed out against the FMLN because it has increased its attacks while it negotiates with the government. He claimed there is a strong division among the guerrilla commanders and the rebels general command.

[Begin recording] [Elena Fuentes] The rebels have said they will not lay down their weapons. It is possible that they do not agree with what is being discussed in Mexico and this is what makes us believe what many of them say, that is; they are not going to lay down their weapons.

[Reporter] Does that mean that a controversy exists within the FMLN?

[Elena Fuentes] I think that besides a controversy in the FMLN, there is a division. I think there is a serious division between the commanders that are in the Mexican hotels and the commanders that are in the mountains. In addition, I believe that the expectations that they created among the FMLN members have gone down the drain. All those promises that they made that if they won they would give them a house in Escalon [luxury neighborhood], that they would give them a house in... [pauses], what are all those people going to do now? They simply are not going to lay down their weapons. [end recording]

These statements were made by Col. Elena Fuentes during a demonstration on the use of the Air Force in the struggle against the rebels. These maneuvers, held at the Ilopango Air Base, were witnessed by Inter-American Defense Board members, who are on a reconnaissance tour of social and military aspects in Central America.

Honduras

Government Seeks To Mediate Miners' Strike

PA2410225991 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1722 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Tegucigalpa, 24 Oct (ACAN-EFE)—A violent clash between more than 100 soldiers and miners participating in a strike against a U.S. company resulted in the death of one person and several injuries in the western region of Honduras.

The incidents occurred at El Mochito mine, in Santa Barbara Department, where 48 miners have been on strike for 20 days after they were fired by the multinational U.S. mining company "American Pacific."

The dismissed workers, who are members of the union, occupied the mining facilities 17 days ago, and this week took control of the road leading to Las Vegas, a community located near the mine.

At the request of the multinational company, the Honduran Army sent a contingent on 23 October to dislodge the strikers, who resisted the military action with stones and sticks until the early hours of 24 October.

One person was killed during the clash—Daniel Carrasco—and several were injured, including a captain who was hit by a stone.

In the first official reaction, President Rafael Leonardo Callejas regretted the incidents and asked the workers to remain calm in order to find an adequate solution for the conflict.

The ministers accused the Army of "supporting the company's maneuver to destroy the union."

Meanwhile, Julio Armando Pavon, commander of the 10th Infantry Brigade told the press that the military unit sent to Las Vegas "only tried to guarantee the constitutional right to free transit."

The labor minister today reiterated his offer that the parties involved in the conflict accept the government's mediation to seek a peaceful solution to the demand for reinstating the dismissed workers.

Panama

Government Withdraws Ambassador to Peru

PA2410223191 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2121 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Panama City, 24 Oct (ACAN-EFE)—On 24 October, the Panamanian Government recalled Ambassador Gerardo Arias Linares from Lima to protest the escape of two of General Manuel Antonio Noriega's former collaborators, who had been granted asylum in Peru. Panama had requested their extradition because they have been accused of murdering 17 soldiers in October 1989.

The announcement was made by Panama's Acting Foreign Minister Raul Mulino at a news conference with President Guillermo Endara.

Endara said that according to "trustworthy intelligence reports," one of the collaborators, Major Gonzalo Gonzalez, is in Cuba; and the other, Captain Heraclides Sucre, is being sheltered by "Peruvian soldiers with whom he has maintained an excellent relationship."

Mulino pointed out that the ambassador's withdrawal is a first "strong" measure, which has been explained to the Group of Rio ambassadors, and added that the possibility of adopting harsher measures in the future has not been ruled out.

Lawyer Says Haitian Funds Freeze Violates Laws

PA2510033791 Panama City Circuito RPC Television in Spanish 2300 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Panamanian lawyer Gilberto Boutin said on 23 October that the decision of the government to freeze Haiti's assets in Panama violates all the principles of Latin American multilateral treaties.

[Begin Boutin recording] First of all, the Haitian case is an internal conflict. Second, Law 15 of 1928 establishes the immunity of the funds of Latin American governments. Therefore, that irresponsible measure ordered by the Deputy Foreign Minister Jose Raul Mulino, which is one of the many mistakes committed by the Foreign Ministry over the last 15 months, produces mistrust in the banking center.

What has been done with Haiti is really a mistake. The Foreign Ministry will encourage isolation, once again, in detriment to our banking center.

I believe the OAS resolutions have exerted some coercion in this case, but the principles of the Latin American multilateral treaties must be respected. The deputy foreign minister disregarded those principles because he is totally ignorant of the situation in this case. [end recording]

[Begin recording] [Mulino] I will not answer Mr. Boutin's opinions in public.

[Unidentified reporter] Why?

[Mulino] I have my personal reasons.

[Reporter] Is he wrong in saying this?

[Mulino] First of all, I do not know what he said and I cannot give an opinion on something I do not know.

[Reporter] Is it legal to freeze the Haitian funds?

[Mulino] The national government has obeyed a decision made by the OAS—as it obeyed a decision of the UN Security Council—amid a situation that demands the country to act swiftly to collaborate, within our possibilities, in restoring a democratic regime that was lost due to actions of military coupist. [end recording]

Argentina

Cavallo on Foreign Debt, Results of Trip

PY2410225591 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1046 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Buenos Aires, 23 Oct (TELAM)—Economy Minister Domingo Cavallo has stated that the country will begin negotiations with its creditors, seeking a global restructuring of Argentine foreign debt, when "we are certain that everything can be concluded in a few weeks" following a "set of maneuvers" that involve funds from the IMF, the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, and eventually Japan.

Cavallo categorically denied a presumed estrangement with President Carlos Menem following a demand made to him over the phone to conclude all privatizations before the end of 1992.

"You cannot imagine how happy it makes me when the president demands an acceleration of the privatization process because it is the best support that can be given to the economic program, to the convertibility program. There is no estrangement between President Menem and the economy minister," he said.

During a news conference yesterday, just six hours after he returned from a tour of three countries (Thailand, Italy, and Japan) for more than 10 days, Cavallo again reaffirmed that "there will be no devaluation to dilute the effect of any salary increase granted by businessmen" or those that result from increased productivity.

"Any economy minister who might choose to devaluate or to modify the convertibility law will be removed from his post before he knows what is happening," he said.

He also reported that a decision has been made to delay the request for congressional approval of the tax amendment bill—which seeks the elimination of taxes on profits for the fourth category [cuarta categoria]—to prevent a possible loss of fiscal resources, and the imposition of a tax on profits distributed by corporations. He said that "many companies are now distributing utilities in excess so that they will be unable to distribute anything else for years. This warns us to make some changes at the appropriate time, which is not now."

Regarding the conflict in Somisa [Argentine Iron and Steel Joint Association], he said that "the faster we privatize these enterprises, the faster investments will be made with the consequent creation of highly productive job opportunities." He added that "seeking an internal solution [solucion familiar] could never last long: it is best to tell the people the truth and to offer them alternatives."

He said that the decision to declare the UOM [Metalworkers Union] strike illegal in opposition to the company's rationalization policy "does not concern the Economy Ministry."

The minister said that during his trip through Thailand, Japan, and Italy he found "a climate very favorable to the transformations that are taking place in the country." Regarding negotiations with the IMF, he said that they are "on the right track."

Government Reports on Haitian Deputy's Departure

PY2410182391 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1618 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Buenos Aires, 24 Oct (EFE)—The Argentine Foreign Ministry today reported that Haitian Deputy Gary Ghiteau, who had sought asylum at the Argentine Embassy in Port-au-Prince, has left the embassy for Miami (United States of America).

A Foreign Ministry communique notes that Ghiteau managed to leave Haiti "without any problems" thanks to the efforts of Argentine Ambassador to Haiti Orlando Gella, who escorted Ghiteau at all times until his departure for the United States.

The communique adds that the assistance given to Ghiteau "shows once again that it is the Argentine Government's policy to support democratic governments and respect for human rights in Latin America."

Bolivia

Uruguayan, Mexican Presidents Phone Paz

PY2410214991 La Paz Television Boliviana Network in Spanish 1700 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] President Jaime Paz Zamora has received two important telephone calls.

The first was from Uruguayan President Luis Alberto Lacalle who invited President Paz to a meeting that will take place during the summer of 1992 in Uruguay where they will analyze the waterway project that has already received IDB [Inter-American Development Bank] financing. President Paz said he appreciates the invitation because of who made it and because of the importance of the subject for the two countries.

The other telephone call that President Paz received was from Cozumel, a Mexican island in the Caribbean, from Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gort[illegible] who invited Paz to exchange opinions with the Rio Group that will meet next November in Cartagena, Colombia.

Salinas passed on greetings from Presidents Carlos Andres Perez, Cesar Gaviria, and Fidel Castro [of Venezuela, Colombia, and Cuba, respectively] with whom he met in Cozumel. He informed Paz of the subjects discussed during the meeting of the Group of Three, which comprises Mexico, Venezuela, and Colombia. Fidel Castro is attending this meeting as a guest.

MIR Chooses New Bloc Leaders in Both Houses

PY2310154691 La Paz Television Boliviana Network in Spanish 0200 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] During a news conference, the acting president of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left, MIR, Oscar Eid Franco disclosed the names of the new MIR bloc leaders in the Chamber of Deputies and in the Senate.

Senator Jose Luis Carvajal has been appointed MIR bloc leader in the Senate and Deputy Sergio Medinacelli is the new MIR bloc leader in the Chamber of Deputies.

Head of Special Antinarcotics Force Replaced

PY2310134091 La Paz Television Boliviana Network in Spanish 0200 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Excerpt] General Edwin Camacho Peredo was sworn in today as the new head of the Special Antinarcotics Force. He replaces General Elias Gutierrez.

It was also disclosed that the force has new statutes. Interior Minister Carlos Saavedra Bruno has said that making internal adjustments in the mechanism of the struggle against drug trafficking is normal if it is to become more efficient.

[Begin recording] We were reorganizing the Special Antinarcotics Force and we thought it necessary to also change its director. This change is by no means being made because Gen. Gutierrez' performance was poor, quite the contrary, but we believed that if we were starting a new phase, we needed a new leader. This is why we have chosen Gen. Edwin Camacho Peredo—an outstanding member of the Armed Forces—as the new director of the Special Antinarcotics Force because he, as is established in the corresponding article, is a retired member of the Armed Forces. [passage omitted] [end recording] [passage omitted]

Brazil

Kohl Addresses Parliament on Environment

LD2510081391 Berlin ADN in German 1213 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Brasilia (ADN)—Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl today spoke in favor of a "worldwide environmental partnership" to the Brazilian parliament. Kohl pointed out to participants in a special session of both houses of Congress in Brasilia that he had given intensive support to joint efforts "to maintain creation that has been entrusted to us" at world economic summits over the past few years. This is particularly true of the protection of the tropical rain forests, which play an indispensable role in the planet's climate.

According to the chancellor, the next world economic summit, planned for next July, which Kohl will chair, will be devoted mainly to global environmental and development topics. A month before, the Rio de Janeiro UN Conference on the Environment and Development would be concerned with these great tasks facing humanity.

Kohl emphasized Germany's readiness to provide 250 million marks for a pilot project to preserve the tropical rain forests. Protection of the environment and a more sparing treatment of natural resources on the one hand, and healthy economic development on the other are inseparably linked. Kohl said he was saying this on the basis of German experiences. The centrally planned economy in East Germany had disregarded this basic principle. Sums running into the high billions would have to be used for this reason to clean up.

Kohl was welcomed on Thursday by President Fernando Collor de Mello, with military honors. Later he started his talks with the Brazilian head of state, who held a dinner in his honor at the Palacio da Alvorado.

Collor, Kohl Sign Agreement

PY2510025291 Brasilia Voz do Brasil Network in Portuguese 2100 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] President Fernando Collor and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl today signed a financial cooperation agreement for environment preservation projects.

The German Government will provide resources amounting to 304 million German marks, approximately 511 billion cruzeiros, to be used for forest research in the Amazon region and the Atlantic forest and for basic sanitation programs in the northeast region, such as the establishment of water and sewage systems and rural electrification projects.

The agreement was signed at Planalto Palace by President Collor and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who is making an official visit to Brazil. The agreement was signed after a one-hour meeting between Collor and the German chancellor. On leaving Planalto Palace, Kohl gave up his official car and walked to the National Congress where he was honored in a special session.

During the meeting, Collor and Kohl discussed two main subjects. One was Rio-92 [UN Conference on Environment and Development], and the German chancellor confirmed his participation. The other matter that was discussed was protectionism, and President Collor complained about the high subsidies European countries grant to support their agricultural production.

Foreign Minister Francisco Rezek said that Germany recently implemented a broader opening policy in the sense of eliminating subsidies.

[Begin Rezek recording] You are right about this. It is difficult to believe the conservative position, so to say, within the EEC, the position that yields to the pressures of the agriculture lobby [preceding word in English]. Concerning the policy of subsidies, it is difficult to believe that it will prevail in the future. [end recording]

President Collor will again honor Kohl tonight with a dinner at Itamaraty. Tomorrow, both Kohl and Collor will have breakfast at the Integrated Center for Assistance to Children in the satellite town of Paranoa, which was dedicated on 18 October.

During the signing ceremony for the cooperation agreement with the German Government, President Collor said Kohl's trip is very significant and very symbolic. It is significant because it expresses the intention and desire, which is shared by the Brazilian Government, for broader cooperation in the technical, ecological, commercial, and financial fields. It is symbolic because it is marked by the presence of a German community in southern Brazil. This German community has always participated in Brazilian development.

Recalling Kohl's first stopover in Brazil, visiting the town of Blumenau, Collor said our roots are well demonstrated in the mixture of races there. Collor thanked the German chancellor for the aid to northeast Brazil through the cooperation agreement.

[Begin Collor recording] On behalf of the country's northeast region and on behalf of all those involved in preservation of the environment and in making development compatible with the environment in the quest for an intelligent and consistent development process, I want to express our gratitude for the agreement that we are going to sign now, which shows that Your Excellency's government is truly concerned about social problems in the world and ecological and environmental issues. [end recording]

According to President Collor, the German Government is bringing valuable cooperation to Brazil's efforts for intelligent, correct development and treatment of the environment and land in accordance with our needs.

Kohl's Spokesman Justifies Aid

PY2410141891 Brasilia Radio Nacional da Amazonia Network in Portuguese 0900 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] The German Government believes that the financial aid granted by industrialized countries to the Amazon region's ecological preservation program is legitimate.

According to Dieter Vogel, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl's spokesman, this aid is granted as a Brazilian cooperation and support program.

The German diplomat, who is in Brazil on an seven-day visit, is scheduled to arrive in Brasilia today. Tomorrow he is scheduled to meet with President Collor. One of the issues to be discussed during the meeting with President Collor is the issuance of $1.5 billion that was offered by the Group of Seven for the Amazon ecological preservation program.

Chile

Aylwin Defends Pardoning of Political Prisoners

PY2410211091 Santiago Radio Cooperativa Network in Spanish 2200 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Excerpts] None of the people pardoned by the president have been charged with armed robbery, President Aylwin categorically said to those who intend to connect the presidential pardoning of political prisoners with criminality.

[Begin Aylwin recording, in progress] ...none of the individuals pardoned more than a year ago have committed any new crimes. Third, Congress—including those who currently criticize the government—approved granting the president of the Republic the power to pardon political prisoners, even those who have committed terrorist actions. [end recording]

The president said that if he was given this power, it was because it was considered necessary to pacify Chilean society. He said: It is inexplicable that the same congressmen who gave me that power should currently be complaining that I am not using it and not pardoning anyone.

[Begin Aylwin recording] The truth is that over the past few days it has been said that I was given that power only for political crimes not connected to blood crimes. This is false because the power I was given specifically included terrorist actions. One must also take into account—and, undoubtedly, Congress did so when it granted me this power—the fact that all the people who are being legally processed for violent political acts during the last regime are people who have already been in prison for a long time. [end recording]

Their cases were unjustifiably processed slowly because cases that should not have lasted more than two years have lasted as much as 10 years.

[Begin Aylwin recording] I pardoned people who had been in prison for more than 10 years for crimes that should not have merited such a long sentence according to rational legislation. [end recording]

The president added that he maintains his criteria of conscientiously evaluating each case, taking into consideration the records, the seriousness of the crime, the prisoner's promise to not repeat any violent action, the manner in which the case was processed, and the torture to which the victim was subjected. All this is taken into consideration, he said, in deciding whether the sentence should be shortened or the prisoner banished or pardoned. [passage omitted]

He also categorically reiterated that terrorism cannot be confused with criminality even when criminality is a form of terrorism.

Responds to Merino's Criticism

PY2410184791 Santiago Radio Nacional de Chile Network in Spanish 1000 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Commenting on Admiral Jose Toribio Merino's criticism that the government is implementing a soft policy that permits a resurgence of violence in Chile, President Patricio Aylwin pointed out that the former junta member is quite mistaken. Aylwin said that the government has not implemented any soft policies, adding that this is a foolish comment. He regretted that Merino repeats comments made by some members of the opposition.

In an informal talk with journalists, Aylwin said that some people are trying to pretend that common crimes—armed robbery, assault, and murder, which are universally rejected—are linked to the release of political prisoners. This is why some say that by releasing political prisoners, the government is promoting criminality. This is deceptive, Aylwin said, because this is not true. We cannot confuse terrorism with criminality, Aylwin said.

He explained: First, none of those who have been pardoned were sentenced for theft or crimes like those being committed lately and are creating so much concern. Second, none of those pardoned have committed any crime in more than one year. Third, through the votes of those who are now criticizing the government, Congress granted the president of the Republic the power to pardon prisoners who had been arrested for political crimes, even for terrorist acts.

President Aylwin added: If I have been granted this power, it is because it was decided that it was necessary for reconciling Chilean society. Those who granted me this power knew that I would use it, therefore, it is incomprehensible that those who granted me the power now demand that I do not use it, that I do not pardon anyone.

Socialist Party Deputies Sergio Aguilo and Jaime Naranjo have said that, against the will of the people, Adm. Merino continues to use authoritarian and repressive methods on the public security issue. They added that during the military regime there were massive raids on shanty towns, there were acts of torture, and thousands of people were arrested and never returned to their homes. They said that the Rettig Report admitted and confirmed that many were executed without being tried. The deputies disagreed with Adm. Merino's statement that human rights are being violated more now because in Chile there is no security for the people.

Aylwin's Statement on Kohl Incident Rejected

PY2410191591 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 1600 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Report by Jose Manriquez from Valparaiso]

[Text] Members of the UDI [Independent Democratic Union] bloc in the Chamber of Deputies have categorically rejected the statement by President Patricio Aylwin who regretted the incident that occurred during German Chancellor Helmut Kohl's visit to Chile.

Here are excerpts of a statement made by Andres Chadwick, a spokesman for the deputies:

[Begin recording] We reject the statement by the president, who described as deplorable the withdrawal of legislators during Chancellor Kohl's visit. Aylwin also said that the gesture was undemocratic.

We reject the president's statement. We are legislators who were elected, just as Aylwin was, through free elections. In view of this, we will not accept criticism or allow ourselves to be described as undemocratic when we exercise our legislative rights. On the contrary, we believe that it is a sign of democratic maturity to defend the country's dignity, particularly when foreign dignitaries meddle in domestic affairs, interpret our history, or distort the truth.

Kohl hurt the feelings and the dignity of many Chileans. This is why we reject the president's statement. Moreover, any time a foreign dignitary who is invited to Chile adopts an attitude or makes a statement like that made by Chancellor Kohl, the UDI will repudiate it in an energetic manner. We will defend Chilean dignity and make people respect our feelings.

As for the statement regarding German aid to the Coalition of Parties for Democracy [CPPD]—specifically to the Christian Democratic Party [PDC]—there is no doubt that CPPD parties, and particularly the PDC, have constantly received financial support from abroad.

During his visit to Chile, Chancellor Kohl said that he has congratulated himself for having helped to achieve democracy in Chile. All Chileans are aware of this financial aid and there is no need to hide this fact. All Chileans know that this aid involved the supply of resources. These parties have always received financial aid from abroad. [end recording]

Training Program for Youth Launched by Aylwin

PY2410200591 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 1550 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Speech by President Patricio Aylwin at the ceremony to launch the "Program for Youth," at the inner patio of La Moneda Palace—live]

[Excerpts] [passage indistinct] Some people believe that the government should create new jobs in the public sector. This would not be a solution because these jobs would not represent a need by society and, because they would not be adequately financed, would create an atmosphere of weakness in the public administration and create inflation. Instead, we must train our youth and provide better opportunities for them to become

financially and socially integrated into our society. If labor training [plan] works closely with the needs of the productive system it will yield long-lasting results for those being trained and for the productive system as a whole because it will allow a significant increase in productivity. [passage omitted]

Each youth will receive a scholarship of 15,000 pesos for his or her participation during the labor training plan. The program to train youths will be implemented in four ways:

A. Training and labor experience in companies that will teach our youth to perform semiskilled work, including an in-service training period of at least three months;

B. Training for freelance work for those who want to independently join the labor market. This can be achieved through the creation of shops or companies that will receive technical and financial support;

C. Training to perform common tasks. This training will teach youths who have extra difficulties. These youths will be trained to develop themselves personally, to complete semiskilled work, and thus join the labor market;

D. Alternative training. This will consist of a temporary job at a company being tutored by a skilled worker, while concurrently studying at a specialized teaching center.

This program seeks to assist a total of 100,000 youths over a four-year period as follows: 15,000 youths will be trained in 1991 and 28,000 per year will be trained over the subsequent three years [figures as heard]. [passage omitted]

Offering job opportunities to our youth is not directly a government responsibility and it does not automatically depend on the labor market. This is why we urge the private sector to contribute to the effort being made by the government by offering more and better jobs to our youth.

One of the objectives of the educational system is to correct social imbalances by giving each student the necessary tools to productively join society and improve his or her standard of living. If we observe the current Chilean educational system, we will notice that it falls short of this goal. In many cases, instead of correcting imbalances, it emphasizes class differences. To correct this, the Education Ministry will implement several projects aimed at linking education more closely to the labor market, at improving high-school education, and at supporting university students. [passage omitted]

At the university level, we have implemented a scholarship plan in the institutions that are financed through fiscal disbursements. This plan benefited 5,000 first-year students this year. Our objective is to grant 20,000 scholarships to students of all years by 1994. [passage omitted]

Finally, the government must pay special attention to the youth who are most heavily exposed to the risks of our society. Our actions here will be directly aimed at the sectors of our youth that are affected by alcoholism, drug addiction, delinquency, adolescent pregnancy, etc. The Health and Education Ministries are in charge of these initiatives. The Youth Institute and the National Women's Service will also contribute to this program.

To give opportunities to our youth is the responsibility of all of us. If we are interested in the future, our youth must be our priority now. If we open new opportunities for our youth, we will be opening opportunities for the future. We can see our future in their faces. It must be clear to all that this task is not exclusively a government responsibility. Society is responsible for it. [passage omitted]

Ministers Deny Change in U.S. Military Aid

PY2410135691 Santiago Radio Nacional de Chile Network in Spanish 1000 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Foreign Minister Enrique Silva Cimma and Defense Minister Patricio Rojas denied in the Chamber of Deputies any change in U.S. Government policy on military assistance to Chile.

The ministers were invited to attend a Chamber of Deputies special session requested by National Renewal and the Independent Democratic Union, UDI. The two parties requested the session to analyze changes in the law on foreign assistance, which is pending in the U.S. Congress. These changes allegedly include new restrictions on the transfer of funds and military equipment to Chile and condition these transfers to congressional approval.

Minister Rojas stated, however, that there have been no changes. The U.S. Government only has sent a note to the U.S. Congress with information on several countries, including some NATO members.

Argentine Attempt To Join Pacific Basin Viewed

PY2410221791 Santiago EL MERCURIO in Spanish 9 Oct 91 p C5

[Text] Valparaiso—Antonio Horvath, an independent deputy from the 11th Region, has stated that Argentina wants to become a Pacific Basin member country, taking advantage of the integration agreements signed with Chile through which all mountain border posts and ports have been opened for Argentine products to reach the Pacific Ocean.

Horvath said that this situation has been denounced by the Pacific Basin Economic Council.

He said: "This should make us act. We should not be naive. Chile should not allow a country that does not lie along the Pacific to become a member of the Pacific Basin by taking advantage of the integration agreements signed with Chile."

He said that the Chilean Government should act and not allow the integration process with Argentina to be instrumental in creating a situation that could be undesirable for Chile, "whose excellent geographical position could help it become the leader in the area."

Horvath noted that the situation is serious because the integration agreements being signed by Chile "do not clearly show the true magnitude of their effects on the future of Chile."

He said that this is not just a matter of denouncing the problem. He clarified his position on "integration with Argentina, but with Chile handling the transport and the marketing of the Argentine products."

* Minister Reveals Plans for Energy Sector

92SM0036A Santiago EL MERCURIO in Spanish 29 Sep 91 p B32

[Text] National energy sector investments over the next 10 years will be at least $4.58 billion, a figure which includes both electricity projects and those involving hydrocarbons—among them the gas pipelines to Argentina and Bolivia—as well as coal.

This information was released by National Energy Commission President Minister Jaime Toha, referring to the sector's strategic development plan being formulated at this time, and which is to be completed before December with the objective of presenting it to President Aylwin and the people for their consideration.

In the meantime, he emphasized that over the next ten years $2.76 billion of energy sector projects will be carried out, of which initiatives worth $1.1 billion are already being implemented.

Likewise, in the hydrocarbon sector, investments of at least $1.8 billion are anticipated in projects involving exploration both within and outside the country, as well as extensions of or initiatives associated with oil refineries.

Also involved in this area is the development of petrochemical projects and the trans-Andes gas pipeline. Toha stated that planned hydrocarbon investments could increase as new projects are added, depending on the results of the explorations and studies currently under way.

Finally, he said that in addition to these investments are the ones associated with the coal sector, principally in projects in the XII region.

"We have estimated investments of at least $4.58 billion for this decade. This figure includes most of the investments, as there are many other initiatives that are a consequence of these projects and which have not been included."

Main Projects

At that time, Minister Toha stated that among the projects being considered for this decade are works involving the Petrox and Concon refineries, as well as others related to petrochemicals, chief among them uric ammonia.

In the electricity sector, he said the plan does not include the new Aconcagua and Curillinque plants, because they are already in operation, but it does include the Guacolda thermal plan, which will become operational in 1995.

"Then there is the Pangue project, which is the largest of all and which we believe will become operational is 1997."

He added that annual investments on the order of $60 million for electricity distribution were also included.

Likewise, he stated that the plan assumes construction of the oil pipeline to transport crude from Neuquen to San Vincente, which is under study and in the preliminary negotiation stage.

Strategic Plan

Toha pointed out that these resources are linked to the country's productive development, and are included in the strategic plan now being developed by the National Energy Commission for the next ten years.

"In the energy strategy we will present in December, we have incorporated some elements that are somewhat new and that go beyond this effort, and which are directly related to productive activity."

On this point, the secretary of state said that among the concepts to be included is the rationalized use of energy, since the country must move in this direction if it wishes to continue to develop.

He added that the country spends approximately $3 billion per year on energy. "We have established some goals for ourselves that will be noted in the strategy and that could mean saving hundreds of millions of dollars through rationalized use, which does not mean diminishing, nor will it diminish, our productive efforts or the quality of people's lives."

In this respect, the person charged with developing the conservation program, Maria Isabel Gonzales, stated that there are some sectors where conservation is more feasible, such as housing, small- and medium-sized enterprises, and transportation. She added that in these areas, the cost of effecting those savings is less than the actual savings achieved.

At that time, Toha stated that with the strategy now under consideration, it is thought that within ten years, Chile's total expenditures on energy materials could decline by up to 10 percent.

In addition, the secretary of state indicated that the plan includes increased attention to some urban areas, with their precarious lighting conditions, which contribute to isolation, insecurity, and a lower quality of life.

He added that on this issue, cooperative efforts are being considered by companies, the government, municipalities and the communities themselves.

Another point being considered in the plan involves a permanent effort to expand, and attempt to complete, the rural electricity program.

A final new point within the strategic plan involves the relationship between energy development and environmental problems. "We will continue our progress in terms of adequately evaluating the country's comparative costs from the standpoint of environmental impact, the different alternatives involved in a hydrothermal plan, and the relative development of oil and gas."

Progress in Gas Pipelines

Toha indicated that the strategic program involves a flexible and varied policy for energy supplies, establishing new alternatives such as linking gas, geothermal and tidal energy.

"We want to broaden the country's energy base, departing from the fact that prudence indicates we will not return to the levels of self-sufficiency in oil that we had in the past."

In this sense, the minister mentioned the progress being made on the planned gas pipelines from Bolivia and Argentina to Chile.

He emphasized that in the case of Bolivia, two rounds of meetings have already taken place between firms from that country and Chilean firms interested in the project, while both parties are carrying out internal evaluations to take up new contacts in the future.

With regard to the trans-Andes gas pipeline, the minister said that "now that the agreements between the two countries are finalized, at this time several firms are in the process of establishing the technical means and criteria to permit them to enter into a process of negotiations with the gas owners in Argentina.

Plan Schedule

With respect to the strategic plan's schedule, Toha stated that this should be defined in December and will first be given to President Aylwin for review, for the purpose of determining whether there are any internal objections at the official level.

He added that there are aspects of the program designed to ensure better opportunities for the private sector to carry out new projects and investments. "We have already had conversations on various fronts with the private sector."

Colombia

Gaviria News Conference on Cuba, Peace Talks

PA2410173491 Santa Fe de Bogota Emisoras Caracol Network in Spanish 1257 GMT 24 Oct 91

[News conference by President Cesar Gaviria Trujillo with local and international reporters and an unidentified moderator at the Narino Palace in Bogota—live; broadcast in progress]

[Text] [Gaviria] ...to improve relations between the United States and Cuba. It is possible to return Cuba to the inter-American region, and it is also possible for Cuba to introduce changes to its political system to democratize Cuban society even more. These changes would permit a transition to an economic and political system that would correspond to the demands of modern times.

[Moderator] Liliana Vigoya from Cinevision newscast has the floor now.

[Vigoya] Mr. President, since you had the opportunity to get a feeling on the state of relations between the United States and Cuba, what are the major differences between the two countries?

[Gaviria] There are two basic facts. First, the major difference between the United States and Cuba is the U.S. basic and radical disagreement with the Cuban political system, and then there is Cuba's opposition to the U.S. economic blockade. These are the two basic topics for which the two countries are campaigning. I think important changes must take place both in the political system of Cuba and in the U.S. blockade. It is possible for these changes to take place in a peaceful, orderly, and civilized manner; it would be good for Latin America and the international community. This is what the Group of Three [G-3] is sponsoring. We are trying to promote understanding and dialogue to allow for a peaceful transition so that these two critical issues can be resolved in the future.

[Moderator] Fabio Santinez from [words indistinct] has the floor.

[Santinez] Mr. President, do you think Cuba's return to the Latin American system is possible without the Cuban regime making changes in the government? It seems that the letter from President Bush conditions Cuba's return to the Latin American system to the implementation of democratic changes.

[Gaviria] No. We are confident that these two events will take place on the island. We think that common sense and a reasonable attitude will prevail. We think these changes will take place in Cuba, thereby permitting the return of Cuba to the region and an end to the blockade. We are confident that all these events will take place simultaneously in the next few years. This is what the G-3 is proposing. We are sponsoring an understanding

and a less hostile attitude. We are convinced that this is possible and that all these events can take place simultaneouly.

[Moderator] Julio Rariza from the newspaper EL TIEMPO has the floor.

[Rariza] What actions will the G-3 take in order to mediate before the United States, considering that the U.S. stand on Cuba has always been so radical?

[Gaviria] This is certainly not an easy task because each party maintains an extremist and hostile position. We are calling for international solidarity. Both the Venezuelan president and the Colombian foreign minister, during the past UN meeting, called for a dialogue between the United States and Cuba. We hope that suitable conditions exist in the future to conduct such a dialogue. We hope that, as most of the world public hopes, deeper changes will take place in Cuba, thereby permitting the further democratization of Cuban society. These changes will obviously permit a less hostile and intransigent attitude on the part of the United States towards the Cuban regime.

We want to emphasize that the opinion of the presidents, particularly that of the president of Colombia, on the Cuban regime does not ignore the principle of nonintervention. We are convinced that the changes in Cuba must be the Cuban people's responsibility. We believe these kind of changes must be discussed by Cuban society. We are opposed to any kind of intervention to force these changes within the Cuban Government.

[Moderator] Adriana Larrota from the Noticiero de las Siete newscast has the floor now.

[Larrota] In the [words indistinct] front during the last few days, guerrilla attacks against the economic infrastructure have continued, as well as [words indistinct] raids of towns and takeovers of jails. People are wondering what has changed to make the government resume the dialogue in Caracas? What has changed since the attack against Aurelio Iragorri [words indistinct]?

[Gaviria] You certainly made an important distinction. At a given time, the government decided to begin the Caracas talks, before the incident that you mentioned took place and without the existence of a previous cease-fire in order to accomodate the eccentricities and demands of the guerrillas who continue to carry out their activities in Colombia.

Of course, sitting down at the negotiating table without a cease-fire [words indistinct] that there would be military intimidation, clashes, and incidents of that nature during the talks. It was also possible that in addition to those actions there could be attacks against the civilian population, not just political leaders. The CGSB [Simon Bolivar Guerilla Coordinating Board] made a commitment not to attack the civilian population and political leaders during the talks. We condemn all terrorist and subversive actions. But the guerrillas have not honored their commitment to stop such actions [words indistinct] that attitude by suspending the talks in Caracas.

This reflects the urgent need to agree on a cease-fire so that the Colombian peace process can have political credibility and public support in order to advance significantly. Without a cease-fire it will be very difficult to obtain that support and obtain Colombian society's solidarity in the peace process. A cease-fire would encourage the peace process and increase the possibilities of attaining peace in Colombia.

[Moderator] Antonio Jose Caballero of RCN.

[Caballero] What cooperation can be expected from President Fidel Castro regarding the peace talks in Colombia after your meeting in Mexico, considering that a delegate of the so-called Army of National Liberation traveled to Cuba possibly [word indistinct]?

[Gaviria] First of all I will say, as I have said on other occasions, that we are convinced that there are many countries where guerrillas have [word indistinct] received sanctuary, where they have had friends, and some kind of ?receptiveness or relations in the past. This is not only Cuba, but also Mexico, Venezuela, Spain, and France. There are many countries.

In that regard, we must be vigilant and ensure that those countries have a clear picture of the Colombian situation. We have always tried to keep the public well-informed and up-to-date. We have explained the difficulties and particular characteristics of the Colombian peace process, the true situation in Colombia, the guerrillas' strength, and the circumstances that have led to an armed struggle in Colombia for so many decades. We have reported the [word indistinct] and warmongering attitude of the guerrillas, the way in which they have been adopting more radical positions and making decisions that are contrary to the will of the Colombian people. We have always mentioned those factors. We always try to keep those countries and the leaders of those friendly countries well-informed because we want international support for the Colombian peace process in order to attain peace in our country. Within that context, we believe Cuba is an important country. We hope to have its cooperation in order to have a [words indistinct] and so that the Colombian guerrillas can receive the necessary information, making it possible to advance in our peace process.

[Moderator] Vicente Silva, Noticiero Nacional.

[Silva] Mr. President: In the past few days political leaders [words indistinct] have criticized your government's economic policy and demanded quick and fundamental changes. First of all, will there be any changes in the government's economic policy? Specifically, Mr. President, in the social field, what will the government do about the crisis affecting Cajanal [National Social Se..urity Fund] and the Social Security system?

[Gaviria] It is normal and natural for there to be criticism of the government's economic policies during a political campaign. I would not only say it is normal, but I would also say it is advisable and necessary. That is what democracy is all about. It gives the people the opportunity to discuss the country's problems in public forums. Of course, the government's economic policies should be a topic for discussion, criticism, and analysis. We are always willing to make corrections to our economic policy. We understand that we have taken some unpopular measures, but they have been necessary to maintain stability in the Colombian economy, to keep up the struggle against inflation, and, of course, to make adjustments to the Colombian public administration. There have been some [word indistinct] and discontent among some groups of workers because of the plans for voluntary retirement in some public institutions. I believe in economic stability; it is important for Colombian society. We must fight for economic stability. However, when institutions have an excess number of employees, when they have a number of employees exceeding the amount needed to provide the necessary services, and especially when they are experiencing serious economic problems, it is the president's responsibility to solve these problems by making it possible to allow workers to retire voluntarily. This has taken place in some state enterprises.

The Social Security topic, which has specifically been mentioned, is also being discussed by the government. We believe that one of the most important topics to be discussed by congress are the reforms to our entire social security system. I have pointed out that even though there are many other topics to be discussed, it is perhaps the most important bill the government will submit to congress. It is not a constitutional topic; it is the most important economic reform issue in our administration. We must discuss the reforms to our social security system. We will work hard on that. We hope to create a system that will allow the elderly to have a retirement pension that is in keeping with the dues they have been paying and in keeping with the salaries they have earned throughout their lives. We want a system that will protect the elderly once they reach this stage. This is not taking place in Colombian society today. Social Security funds are being wasted. They are being improperly used and irresponsibly distributed. This is a disservice to all affiliates. Of course, we will have to take some unpopular measures. The overall solution must be aimed at resolving the social security problem in Colombia. A person must really be sure that when he reaches old age, he will have a reasonable pension. Of course, we hope to deal with the health sector, which also requires important reforms so that better services can be provided.

[Moderator] Patricia Uribe from (Cormundo).

[Uribe] Good morning Mr. President. As for the peace process in Caracas, we have seen that the UN secretary general has mediated in the dialogue between the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and the Salvadoran Government. Is there a possibility of the UN secretary general mediating in the talks with the Simon Bolivar National Guerrilla Coordinating Board, CNGSB, in case the talks continue to be delayed?

[Gaviria] We feel that since there is a direct dialogue between the government and the guerrillas taking place, having a mediator would in some way represent a step backwards in the Colombian peace process. It would not represent progress. A guerrilla group and a government that are able to sit down at the negotiating table to hold direct talks and seek solutions do not have to be looking for international mediators. Considering the progress made in the discussions and the type of situations that have taken place, we believe that international mediation would not lead to progress in the negotiations with the CGSB. It could represent a step backwards in the negotiations and that is why we have not supported or sought any type of international mediation. Sometimes there may be international officials who may be called upon to verify the agreements that are signed in Caracas; however, this is only for verification purposes, not for a mediation to reach agreements. To reach agreements, we must continue to trust the dialogue mechanisms and the talks betwen the government and the guerrillas. We believe it is the best method. We have had very positive experiences in the direct talks between the government and the guerrillas. We believe the other path would delay the negotiating process.

[Moderator] Jesus Garzon of [name indistinct].

[Garzon] Returning to the topic of peace, Mr. President, Manuel Marulanda, alias Tirofijo [commander of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia—FARC], has challenged the country to release the political prisoners it is holding in the country's jails in exchange for at least 60 servicemen he is holding in his camps. How do you feel about this, considering that the Caracas talks will soon resume?

[Gaviria] I must first note something that applies everywhere; we cannot resort to these types of mechanisms. We must always follow legal procedures. The only way that the government can make a decision of this kind would be to grant a pardon or amnesty (?through the) negotiating process. We cannot release people who are in the custody of justice just because the president or the government decides to do so. That decision would be completely at odds with our legal structure. I also want to say that those servicemen were not withheld or captured during combat. Therefore, they are not considered POWs. Holding them constitutes a practice that is in no way condoned in international conventions or the Geneva Protocols.

[Moderator] (?Juan) Portela of Radio Santa Fe.

[Portela] Good morning, Mr. President. How do you feel about the guerrillas' challenge to the government, because a few days ago the government said that in order for the Caracas talks to resume they had to stop attacks on civilians and politicians, as (?you just said)? No mention was made, however, of ending attacks against

military forces. Many attacks on soldiers were reported yesterday. We have heard that the presidents of the Association of Colombian Farmers and the National Cattle Breeders' Association are asking you not to resume the talks until the guerrillas release the members of these two groups that are being held hostage.

[Gaviria] The government, of course, could have opted to make further demands of the guerrillas in order to participate in the Caracas talks. We cannot rule out that the guerrillas could have accepted tougher government demands. The government could have asked for a unilateral cease-fire in order to participate in the table of negotiations. We must admit, however, that had the government adopted that stance, it would have been highly unlikely that we could have ever gone to Caracas. We would probably not be participating in the talks in Caracas now. We chose to be flexible. We are committed to peace and wanted to show that commitment by attending the Caracas talks, despite the guerrillas' attitude and actions. If we have insisted so much on the (?cease-fire) topic, as I said earlier, it is because we are convinced that the peace process will lack full credibility and political support until the hostilities and military attacks cease, or until we have a cease-fire. I am certain that when that happens everybody in Colombia will believe in the peace negotiations and we will be able to make significant progress in the peace talks. So far, the only thing we have been able to obtain from the guerrillas [words indistinct] the guerrillas' instructions. The guerrilla leadership is not instructing its members to stop attacks on civilians.

[Moderator] Mauricio Velasquez of Caracol.

[Velasquez] Good morning, Mr. President. Now that the 27 October elections are almost here, some regions of the country seem to be experiencing public order disturbances. What special measures have been taken before the elections? Do you think full guarantees exist for this democratic exercise?

[Gaviria] For several decades, this country has been holding elections amid public disturbances. This is not new in our daily life. Authorities have implemented operations to guarantee calm on this Sunday's elections. Despite problems with public order, I want to remind you that the elections have not been suspended anywhere in the country. We hope that despite the difficulties and disturbances, the elections will go smoothly. All Colombians will certainly be able to go to the polling places, without receiving any pressure, to decide the fate of Colombian democracy and choose the representatives of our people in accordance with the new laws created by the National Constituent Assembly. I want to take advantage of this opportunity to call on all Colombians to vote on Sunday, to vote for their candidates, and to participate in the democratic process, as that is fundamental to legitimatizing our political institutions. It is also fundamental so that the new rules that refined political [words indistinct] can truly take hold within Colombian society. I think that if the rules refining political [word indistinct] led to less public participation, that would be harmful to democracy. We hope that everybody will vote and be ready to support democracy. We hope that they understand that voting is also fundamental to attaining peace. If voter turnout is large, if participation is broad, and if we support our democracy, the desire for peace of all Colombians will come true sooner.

[Moderator] Joaquin Duarte of LA VANGUARDIA.

[Duarte] Following contacts between the presidents of the G-3 and President Castro in Guadalajara and now in Cozumel, why do you think there will be changes in Cuba when as recent as the Fourth Congress, Castro stressed that a multiparty system is [word indistinct] and that democracy is trash, thus exhibiting a neo-Stalinist policy. Do you think it is significant that your illustrious compatriot, Gabriel Garcia Marquez, asked Castro for reforms, for the first time, when he never did this before?

[Gaviria] I want to point out that the Latin American presidents who met in Cozumel did speak to Castro about his choice of words. He explained that his speech was improvised. He said it could not be understood that he was referring to the Cuban situation. He said he was obviously not referring to political systems in other countries. Castro said he had supported the multiparty process that took place in Nicaragua. He said he respects the multiparty system. He noted that such statements could only be understood within the context of the defense of the Cuban Revolution, which was a purely Cuban context. The Cuban leader said that in no way was he referring to the political system of other countries.

I want to add that we received a thorough explanation of the changes made in the Cuban regime. Castro discussed the changes that will permit people other than Communist Party members to participate in the elections. These are changes that will permit that the party will not nominate candidates [words indisitnct] neighborhoods, districts, [words indistinct]. There are over 14,000 districts in Cuba and they will nominate the candidates. He said (?he declared) in the Guadalajara meeting that if the party eventually loses its majority in the elections, he is willing to withdraw from the government and power. Perhaps this was the most important statement made at the Guadalajara news conference. Of course, when one listens to these explanations, one becomes optimistic about the fact that important changes are taking place in the Cuban political system. There was a renewal of over 50 percent of the members of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau. All these changes prove that important changes are underway in Cuba.

However, we told him that those changes still do not meet the world's expectations. We told him it was important to make more changes to guarantee a democratic system in Cuba, but not as they understand it. Of course, they defend their system, which they term democratic because it allows the citizens to make the most

important decisions. We meant a democratic system the way most Western leaders view it with the presence and participation of other parties. I think it would be a very important step for the Cuban regime. It not only requires the participation and presence of other leaders [words indistinct]. According to President Castro, it seems that the assembly of the communist party seems to allow this. [Words indistinct] the formation of other political parties. It would be great progress.

We hope the Cuban people will take that path soon. Of course, we also hope for improvement in the relations between the United States and Cuba to allow for a much more peaceful and orderly transition. I want to say that the Cuban regime and political system will experience many difficulties because of the suspension in trade with the socialist bloc and the Soviet Union. The truth is that this trade suspension has placed Cuba in a complex and difficult situation. Cuba should find a solution to this problem by trying to ease tensions. It must find the path to economic survival. It must solve its problems to overcome the difficulties the Cuban people are experiencing.

Today, I read some remarks by writer Garcia Marquez in which he refers to the importance of changes in the Cuban regime. I think the entire Western Hemisphere is pointing to the need for changes in Cuba. In fact, the purpose of this meeting was to try to get the Cuban president to explain, clearly and frankly, the evolvement of the Cuban economy and party congress. Another purpose of the meeting was to hear the point of views of Latin American presidents who feel they are friends of Cuba and want to promote a peaceful and orderly revolution, with the least number of difficulties for the Cuban people in this difficult period they are going through.

[Moderator] Luis Eduardo Maldonado from Cadena Radial Super.

[Maldonado] Good morning, Mr. President.

[Gaviria] Good morning.

[Maldonado] Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari has said that the internal problems that are being experienced in Cuba will evidently have repercussions in Mexico. What will the repercussions be in Colombia?

[Gaviria] We firmly believe that any evolution that may take place in any Latin American country, in this case Cuba, which does not lead to a peaceful, democratic process will adversely affect all of our countries. We support nonviolence and peaceful and democratic changes. We must promote these kinds of changes in the continent. That is what we are looking for in Cuba. We want a transition that can take place in a peaceful democratic manner without foreign intervention and any international pressure. We hope to persuade the Cubans about the importance of [word indistinct] making economic and political transformations in their government. That is what it is all about. We are committed to that.

[Moderator] The last question is for [name indistinct].

[Reporter] Good morning, Mr. President. Are the Caracas talks scheduled to resume on 30 October?

[Gaviria] No, a commission is traveling to Caracas today to agree on a date for the resumption of the talks. As we said last week, after the meeting with the public order advisory commission, which recommended the resumption of the talks and that said the guerrillas were firmly and clearly committed in not carrying out more attacks against the civilian population. We evaluated the situation and we believe the commission received this clear commitment from the CNGSB. We said we hoped to return to the Caracas talks next week. What remains to be determined is the date for the resumption of the talks. That is why two members of the office of the peace adviser are traveling to Caracas.

Peru

Panamanian Ambassador to Nation Recalled

PA2510023291 Lima Global de Television Network in Spanish 0113 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] On 24 October, the Panamanian Government recalled Gerardo Arias Linares, Panamanian ambassador to Peru, to protest the escape of two former General Manuel Antonio Noriega's associates, who had sought asylum in Peru and whose extradition had been requested for their alleged involvement in the murder of 17 soldiers in 1989.

The announcement was made by Raul Mulino, Panamanian Acting Foreign Minister, who said that, according to reliable intelligence reports, Major Gonzalo Gonzalez, one of the men involved, is in Cuba. Captain Heraclides Sucre, the second man, is being protected by an elite group of Peruvian officers with whom Sucre maintains excellent relations.

Fujimori on Drug Trafficking, Terrorism

PM2510073491 Paris LE MONDE in French 24 Oct 91 p 6

[Interview with President Alberto Fujimori by Marcel Niedergang in Lima; date not given]

[Excerpt] Lima—[passage omitted] [Niedergang] What is your main concern at the moment?

[Fujimori] Drug trafficking. It does not just affect our economic situation, it funds terrorism. Without the drug traffickers, the fight against the subversive organizations, especially Shining Path, would be easier.

[Niedergang] Do you think that that traffic is increasing?

[Fujimori] It has reached a plateau. We have scored important points thanks to foreign aid, primarily from the United States, but it is not enough. The new and positive element is the authorities' rapprochement with the peasants who produce coca—the raw material for cocaine. The cocaine growers are no longer our enemies, they are no longer the allies of the drug traffickers and terrorists. They are determined to change their activity but that implies a change in the whole production system in the affected regions, and especially in the Huallaga valley. Unfortunately we do not have modern means for combating the traffickers. We should set up a regional radar control network to detect the drug traffickers' light aircraft and to pursue and capture them.

[Niedergang] Do you think that the Colombian authorities' struggle against the Medellin Cartel encouraged the spread of cocaine production laboratories in South America?

[Fujimori] Probably. We have noticed infiltrations, but not on a large scale, at least not in Peru as yet. We have not detected any big laboratories. The struggle against the drug scourge must be international. It is common sense. As far as we are concerned, the agreement which we signed with the United States last May should be completed in six months.

[Niedergang] Are there already North American military personnel in the zones affected by drug trafficking?

[Fujimori] Definitely not. There are no Green Berets in Peru, and no military operations as there were in Bolivia. For the time being, there is simply cooperation between the Drug Enforcement Agency—the U.S. agency responsible for combating drug trafficking—and the Peruvian antinarcotics police. However, what must be clearly understood is that drug trafficking cannot be separated from terrorist subversion. We must therefore win the population over to our cause. A simple program of replacing coca cultivation would not produce any results. We have experienced that, and a sudden eradication of the coca fields would merely lead to tragedy. What we need is to create the conditions for a market economy, to build roads with the Army's aid, to protect them, to seek the commercialization of tropical products like valuable timber, coffee, cocoa, palm oil and fruit. During my visit to Europe, I plan to establish contacts with interested international companies.

[Niedergang] There is a great deal of talk about the government's new antisubversive strategy. Of what does it consist?

[Fujimori] The law cannot be upheld simply by the military or the police. For years, this aspect was emphasized apparently without anybody noticing the dangers of such a policy. That is very serious. Shining Path must be combated on its own ground, and the populations which it controls by terror must be wrested from it. Terrorism will no longer benefit from the soft climate created by the weak democratic governments of the last 12 years. I am saying that. The Peruvian people have tolerated a tide of misfortunes—hyperinflation, terrorism, drug trafficking, corruption, earthquakes, cholera, and natural disasters. But they are still on their feet and fighting. Shining Path has returned to its barbarous early methods—intimidation, murder. It assassinates the leaders of the mothers' associations, people's organizations, religious organizations, foreign aid workers. It is a scorched earth policy, nihilism, a desperate reaction not a step forward. Our intelligence services are increasingly efficient. The Army is engaged in civic development actions. Before, when a village was occupied by Shining Path, even briefly, it was decreed in high places that all the inhabitants were "pro-Shining Path" and there was indiscriminate represssion and hence collective massacres. We have put and end to those methods.

[Niedergang] The fact remains that the U.S. Congress is making U.S. aid dependent on stringent respect for human rights....

[Fujimori] Yes. There were blunders. Blunders by elements who escaped the control of their superiors, of the police, or military command. There is still progress to be made.

[Niedergang] The humanitarian and human rights organizations are very critical about Peru and condemn what you call blunders.

[Fujimori] I strongly condemn human rights violations. I prosecute those responsible. Peace will be restored by means of the law. But I criticize the organizations which simply condemn the abuses perpetrated by the forces of order and who remain silent about the atrocities perpetrated by the subversives—Shining Path and the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement. It is their duty to condemn everything. The dirty war is not one-sided. In the new antisubversive strategy, the Armed Forces will be the vanguard of the struggle for development and social justice. And Peru, which has just rejoined the international financial community, also intends to rejoin a world of peace and development. And, to do that, we need Europe.

* Leaders in Libertadores-Wari Region Selected

92SM0033D Lima EL COMERCIO in Spanish 30 Sep 91 p A5

[Text] Ayacucho—The United Left (IU) and the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA) have reached an understanding that will enable them to remain in office on the governing board for another year in the Libertadores-Wari region, under the leadership of Oswaldo Aspilcueta Franco.

The election of the governing board in that region confirms this arrangement. The regional assembly has just named the following members to serve on the board for a one-year term:

Vice president, Professor Sergio Vilchez Amesquita (APRA); first secretary, Luis Zea Medina (IU); second secretary, Percy Aldoradin (APRA); treasurer, Luis Rejas Villena (IU); treasurer pro tem, Richard Tenorio de la Cruz (independent but affiliated with APRA); and secretary-librarian, Samuel Palomino Fernandez (IU).

According to residents of Ayacucho, the regional representatives of these political organizations received votes amounting to only 300 to 1,900 each, "which does not make them very representative, considering that the electoral population consists of 220,000 voters."

* 'Pacification Commission' Formed in San Martin

92SM0033B Lima EXPRESO in Spanish
14 Sep 91 p A14

[Editorial by EXPRESO staff]

[Text] In the department of San Martin, an unprecedented and interesting development is taking place in the campaign against violence: Society is organizing. Practically all of the political parties, professional associations, organizations and trade unions, and even the Church, have banded together, on their own initiative, in a Commission for the Pacification of the San Martin Region. Their objective is just that: to organize to put an end to violence in the area.

In late August the commission put on a three-day forum to "seek alternative proposals for the pacification of the department" and "to get a commitment from the branches of government, the political parties, and the citizenry in general to seek alternatives for pacification." The subject of the third day of discussions, for example, was "pacification strategies." There were two round-tables, one with national participants and another with regional representatives.

Three things stood out among the many noteworthy developments: the open way in which people expressed their desire to put an end to this problem, in spite of the risks involved, as the population is fed up with the violence; a political agreement signed by the general secretaries of Popular Action (AP), the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA), the Popular Christian Party (PPC), the Socialist Left, and the United Left (IU); and the total absence of the Peruvian Government at this meeting.

The first vice president of the republic, Maximo San Roman, and the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Carlos Torres y Torres-Lara, were invited. Neither attended, though at least the latter sent a written message. The political-military commander was also invited, but he stayed away on the grounds that "we do not sit down with communists."

They must have been referring to the presence, at the forum and on the Pacification Commission, of the Fronts for Defending the People's Interests (FEDIP), which is in some way controlled or influenced by the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA). But besides that organization, there were representatives, as we have said, of all of the political parties, the professional associations, organizations of businessmen and producers, and even the Church. So this was a time to participate in a dialogue, to strengthen ties, and to seek political solutions.

The establishment of a commission of this nature, which gathers together the most representative organizations and individuals in the region on their own initiative, is just the type of response that is needed to fight effectively for peace in Peru. When the people rise up and organize politically to confront the forces of death, it is then that the road to peace becomes a possibility.

When people say this is a political struggle, not a military one, they are talking about this type of action. All of the political parties and the representative organizations are there. They are expressing a political will that will then translate into action.

It is impossible for the government to fail to understand the importance of this initiative and to ignore it. This is especially true when some conditions appear to be right for negotiating with the MRTA on its entry into democratic legitimacy. San Martin is the appropriate place for this dialogue—perhaps the bishop of Moyobamba could be the intermediary—and this Pacification Commission could be the right framework for beginning the talks.

What is lacking is a vision and a more political conduct of this war. But as we have said so many times, there is no entity to plan and evaluate the strategy in due time. Opportunities like this cannot be thrown away so readily.

Moreover, the San Martin Pacification Commission is precisely the type of response that should come about in all departments, provinces, and districts that are in one way or another beset by subversion. An organized mobilization that comes from below, from society itself, complemented by military and police action, is the best way to defend the solidarity organizations of the slums that are now under attack by the Shining Path [Sendero Luminoso].

* Northern Lima Residents Unite To Fight Crime

92SM0033C Lima EL PERUANO in Spanish
16 Sep 91 p 9/B

[Text] In response to the proliferation of criminal acts in the northern section of Lima, a multisectoral committee to conduct neighborhood patrols was recently formed by more than 30,000 families in the shantytowns of the districts of Puente Piedra, Ventanilla, and Ancon. This was announced yesterday by Victor Trinidad Castro, chairman of the committee, who said that the organization's mission is to provide security for citizens in those areas.

The leader indicated that before taking any action, the committee will coordinate all efforts related to the self-defense and protection of the residents of these three districts in northern Lima.

He emphasized the vital importance of the committee in terms of its legal recognition, a procedure that is already under way with the Interior Ministry. Once it is recognized, the committee will be authorized to send self-defense brigades for training and to prepare to provide support for law enforcement authorities in fighting crime.

In other districts and communities in the northern section, residents are taking similar action as an alternative for defending themselves against crime and fighting criminals.

In Comas as well as the district of San Martin, with the help of the Center for Information and Education on the Prevention of Drug Abuse (CEDRO), the self-defense organizations known as "anti-crime groups" have found a number of ways of fighting crime.

Yesterday, after a special assembly of representatives, it was learned that in the Libertad neighborhood in Comas, patrols armed only with sticks for self-defense have practically eradicated crime from the area, where it used to be impossible to go out without becoming a crime victim.

Another initiative has been taken by the residents of the Ano Nuevo shantytown, also in Comas. According to one of their leaders, the assailant is hoisted up into a tree and not let down until the police arrive.

In the community of the so-called Manzanilla area in the district of San Martin de Porres, both men and women walk around with sticks, and if possible, they gather in groups to punish criminals who are immediately recognized.

A representative of the Ano Nuevo shantytown stated that they will soon be taking classes in karate and wrestling and lessons in self-defense from the police, who support their efforts.

* Antidrug Policy Role of 'Palace Adviser' Noted

92WD0038Z Lima SI in Spanish 23 Sep 91 p 27

[Text] By means of a supreme decree promulgated on 6 September, the government has ordered the subordination of the National Police to the Armed Forces in all of the department of San Martin. The goal is to make the actions to repress the traffic in drugs consistent and effective.

In connection with this new provision, Vladimiro Montesinos is said to have summoned to a meeting at the National Intelligence Service (SIN) on 13 September the general who heads the Drug Police Division (Dipod), the colonel in charge of the Illicit Drug Traffic Investigative Division (DINTID) (a part of the Peruvian Investigative Police), and the minister of interior.

The purpose of this most unusual meeting is also said to have been announced by the Government Palace adviser—to inform those present that President Fujimori had decided to regard the drug problem as a matter of national security, and that for this reason, the establishment of an ad hoc secretariat within the SIN had been ordered. And, in addition, that the two police services would be merged and would be placed under the command of an Army general. This is a delicate matter which will have multiple repercussions.

* Budget, Increased Terrorism Affect Railroads

92SM0033E Lima EL COMERCIO in Spanish 15 Sep 91 p A7

[Text] Of the 1,680 km of railroad managed by the National Railway Enterprise (Enafer), only 8 percent is in good condition. An investment of about $120 million will be required to maintain and restore the railways.

Statistics indicate that 43 percent of the railways are in poor shape, 36 percent in fair condition, and 13 percent in satisfactory condition. There is an additional 800 km of railroad built by Southern Peru Copper Corporation and the Central Peruvian Mining Enterprise (Centrominperu) between La Oroya and Toquepala.

Who should be responsible for maintaining the railroad? The chairman of the board of Enafer, Jorge Castilla Meza, stated that the Transportation Ministry should, but since 1984 there have been no budget allocations for that purpose.

He indicated that between 1972 and 1984, the government contributed approximately $280 million to cover railroad maintenance costs, "but after that year, railway development and expansion was ignored."

In 1986, $14 million was allocated, but the money never arrived, even though it was figured into the enterprise's budget that year. The same thing happened to the $80 million allotment in 1989.

Now it is the Enafer employees who are in charge of maintenance, although it is carried out in a precarious manner, with a budget allotment of $15 million a year.

It is no surprise that this crisis has led to the rapid deterioration of transportation; locomotives have not been repaired since 1986.

The central railway has a total of 36 locomotives, of which 17 are in service, three in for repairs, 11 idle due to the lack of parts, and five out of service. The southern railway, on the other hand, has only 22 locomotives in service out of a total of 50, while four are in for repairs and 10 are out of service.

There are delays in the repairs under way on 27 locomotives, some of which are in service and others are

awaiting spare parts. This is why transportation services are so inadequate in places such as the Huancayo-Huancavelica and Tacna-Arica routes.

Castillo Meza indicated that efforts are being made to secure a Japanese donation of $7.18 million to repair 20 locomotives. But when will it come through?

To make matters worse, terrorism is also affecting the railroad infrastructure. Between 1980 and the first half of 1991, a total of 195 attacks have taken place on the central and southern railways, with losses estimated at $47.792 million.

This destruction has been on the increase. In 1980 there were five attacks, while in 1990 there were 49.

On 13 July of last year, for example, four cars were destroyed, machines were burned up, and much of the railway was destroyed between Lima and Oroya, at a cost of $4.2 million.

* 'Majority' Misunderstand Impact of 'Reinsertion'

92SM0033A Lima EL COMERCIO in Spanish
28 Sep 91 p A2

[Commentary by J.Z.S.: "The Harsh Reality"]

[Text] After two very satisfying weeks following the launching of the "reinsertion" program, Minister of Economy and Finance Carlos Bolona Behr came up against the harsh reality of the economic emergency.

He defended the achievements of the last few days on the external front, presented new initiatives on tax reform (withdrawing those that had been rejected by the Senate's special committee), and took another step forward in the privatization process.

At the same time, the populace became increasingly irascible, caught between the vise of the decline in wages and the triumphant attitude encouraged by the government with respect to the immediate benefits of the "reinsertion."

The situation is disturbing, and as we have pointed out on several occasions, in Lima as well as Washington, the majority of Peruvians believe that the worst is over.

It is true that President Fujimori and Minister Bolona themselves have made every effort to put things in the proper perspective, but the televised messages (which we mentioned) give the wrong idea, especially among simple people.

The "reinsertion," or rejoining, is a long and costly process that will merely bring us back to normal, to "zero," the point of departure from which we began slipping in 1985.

The government must provide an instructive explanation of the serious state of the Peruvian debt, or the situation with respect to our official foreign creditors, whom we have not paid since 1983!

The 20- and 15-year refinancing concessions for back payments and future payments, respectively, while unprecedented achievements, are not enough; the arrears are steadily building up, now accounting for 70 percent of the capital obligations.

As Minister Bolona told us in Washington on 12 September, we will have to return to the "Club of Paris" in late 1992, bolstered by the promised "expanded terms" loan [prestamo de facilidad ampliada], to renegotiate the terms of the "debt profile" through the year 2000, as the payments will remain high in view of Peru's payment capacity.

Untangling the mess left behind by the previous government, whose former officials persist in their obsolete, irresponsible positions, is a job worthy of the mythology of Hercules.

So this should be explained to the country and the agents of production without mincing words.

It was imperative that we break out of the absurd isolation. Even skeptics such as Richard Webb believe that without the "reinsertion," the situation will worsen in the coming years. We face another year of emergency, of restrictions, and we should give thought to the most vulnerable sectors. The Social Compensation Fund should be put in motion, and the most qualified people should be recruited for that purpose; the nepotism and cronyism of the past should be banished.

In this regard, we have learned from sources in Washington that the Inter-American Development Bank is suspicious of the leadership of the Fund, and if things do not change, the $25 million that was approved will not be disbursed.

The first sectoral loans will cover, basically, the loans from the Central Reserve Bank to the Treasury to put them up to date with international institutions.

And the fresh money that is expected will be earmarked this year for the social compensation program, highway repairs, hospital renovations, and promoting employment in the mountain regions.

That is all.

The money that is coming cannot be used for salaries or for plugging holes in the budget.

In the best of cases, the funds from the Support Group will free up budget resources, which will prevent a free-fall of wages in the Central Government.

The agents of production, on the other hand, should take note that the government coffers are and will remain empty. Consequently, any hopes of subsidies or anything of the sort are illusory, mere wishful thinking.

This is the harsh reality, the legacy of the disaster and the economic drug addiction of the last five years.

Venezuela

Deputies Urge Free Elections in Cuba

PA2410031991 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2251 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Caracas, 23 Oct (EFE)—The Chamber of Deputies in the Venezuelan Congress today added its "voice to the international cry for pluralist and free elections" in Cuba, with the presence of international observers.

The deputies urged in a document that the government of Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez "apply to Cuba a policy consistent with the letter and spirit of our constitution and the best republican tradition, based on democratic solidarity."

The Chamber of Deputies endorses the actions that "human rights groups carry out in Cuba in favor of the fundamental rights of man, including his civil and political rights." The deputies demand that investigations of human rights violations be conducted in Cuba, as agreed by the United Nations.

The Venezuelan congress document was made public while a "summit" of the Group of Three, which includes Mexico, Colombia, and Venezuela, was being held on the Mexican island of Cozumel. Cuban President Fidel Castro attended the meeting as a guest.

The economic situation of Cuba and the international political pressures on the Castro government will be pivotal points in these talks, several sources close to the meeting have reported.

* End of Two-Party Dominance Foreseen in 1993

92SM0030A Caracas EL DIARIO DE CARACAS in Spanish 21 Sep 91 p 28

[Article by Oswaldo Gutierrez]

[Text] During this five-year term, polls agree that for the 1993 presidential elections, the match between the AD [Democratic Action] and COPEI [Social Christian Party] party machinery will end, giving way to candidates outside the parties, such as the possible alternatives of Rafael Caldera and Claudio Fermin.

Up to now, political organizations have not found any other more effective way to predict the results of an election than public opinion surveys. As regards the current five-year term, pollsters that handle information for Democratic Action and COPEI agree. The 1993 presidential elections will be a contest in which three candidates will vie for the office: Eduardo Fernandez, Rafael Caldera, and the AD candidate, who may be Claudio Fermin, Pinerua Ordaz, or Canache Mata.

It is a situation in which no other leaders with any real possibilities have emerged, and it means that for the first time in 20 years of polls that the two-party dominance will be broken, and the match between the AD and COPEI machinery will come to an end.

A Third Person Enters the Fight

Polls agree that it will be a fierce battle for votes between Eduardo Fernandez, the COPEI candidate, and Claudio Fermin, representing AD. This situation will entail major investments in advertising and propaganda using the media, and especially television.

But these same surveys also indicate that there is a third candidate who has joined the fray, Rafael Caldera, but not as a representative of a party, although he is linked to the organization he founded.

This is because the former president has been working on his own, to bring together those people discontented with the status quo. This is something that has already been attempted by others, but without the desired success. One of such people was Jose Vicente Rangel, whose failure can perhaps be attributed to his ideological leanings. This is the case with military men such as Rangel Burgoin, maybe because he was not well enough known.

This also happened with people such as Rector Edmundo Chirinos, whose proselytizing did not work, perhaps because it did not inspire enough confidence, and groups such as the defunct Moral Movement of Mayz Vallenilla, that did not manage to form a solid political option.

Now there is Rafael Caldera, who will try to translate his tremendous personal prestige into votes. He has in his favor the widespread discontent generated by the economic crisis, that could be very damaging to the AD and COPEI. It is the same thing as if another alternative were presented to the discontented voter in the 1973, '78, '83, and '88 elections.

In addition to a break in the two-party dominance, the latest polls agree on other points as well, including the following: abstentions will be important; the results of the presidential elections will be close; Eduardo Fernandez will be the official candidate of the Social Christians; Claudio Fermin will have the support of AD; and, Caldera is developing his own support with his sights on the presidency.

At the same time, they say that the Movement Towards Socialism (MAS) has gathered about 10 percent of the votes of those polled; that no other leaders capable of qualifying for the 1993 elections have as yet presented themselves; and that out of the strong opposing currents in the AD, a candidate could emerge outside the party machinery.

These conclusions have given many people food for thought, and especially members of the parties' ruling bodies that have felt comfortable with the two-sided contest. The uncertainty involved in the outlook for the elections is damaging to the traditional parties and favorable to the formation of new coalitions. In other

words, Caldera is coming out as a favorite in the three-sided contest, as will another candidate outside the AD, in the event that the current intransigent positions are maintained in that party.

Results of Eugenio Escuela's Poll (July 1991)
(in percentages)

Candidate	Total	Caracas	Center	Andes	East	Oil Region
Eduardo Fernandez	21.0	16.0	24.0	10.0	20.0	33.0
Rafael Caldera	19.0	13.0	28.0	7.0	15.0	22.0
Claudio Fermin	18.0	33.0	16.0	4.0	9.0	9.0
Luis Pinerua O.	13.0	9.0	10.0	37.0	9.0	6.0
Carlos Canache M.	7.0	2.0	3.0	30.0	4.0	5.0

'Issue' Favors Fernandez

According to COPEI's official poll, "Issue," Eduardo Fernandez is depicted as having a substantial and conclusive majority, with Claudio Fermin running well behind him, and Rafael Caldera even further back, thus differing substantially from the other public opinion surveys.

For this reason, Caldera's supporters have little confidence in its figures and argue that this is the same poll that in November 1988 said that Eduardo Fernandez was a sure winner against Carlos Andrez Perez, when it turned out that he lost by about a million votes. Consequently, experts view it with serious problems of credibility.

'Pronosticos' Favors Caldera

Miguel Bello, the Valencian friend of Luis Herrera Campis and the traditional adversary of Caldera and Fernandez, has his own poll entitled "Pronosticos." In its most recent quarterly publication, various well-defined trends are indicated: Eduardo Fernandez appears slightly ahead, but declining in popularity; Claudio Fermin appears as the voters' favorite if he is the AD candidate, with few detractors; and, Caldera is alone in his class as an independent, nonparty candidate, and is rising in the polls or, in other words, is gaining supporters among voters.

Miguel Bello insists on one conclusion: The way things are going now, Eduardo Fernandez will not win the upcoming elections. However, he does not go so far as to predict Caldera's victory, perhaps because the founding leader of the "green tent" does not even know himself whether he will run for the eighth time.

Nor does he predict the victory of Pinerua or Claudio Fermin, but he indicates emphatically and demonstrates with his numbers that if Fernandez continues to decline, it will be almost impossible for him to climb back up again, and that he will probably receive considerably less votes than in 1988, and maybe close to the 30 percent that COPEI obtained on that occasion.

He also indicates that the surveys conducted in August, one month after Fernandez, using television spots, announced the idea of open primaries, showed that he had not managed to reverse the downward trend that has been evident for over a year.

Analysts who share this view believe that after a major creative and financial effort such as this, the members of the secretary-general's bureau should give serious thought to a problem of image and credibility. They maintain that Eduardo's contradictions and blunders have been undermining his popularity.

Fernandez also has another problem working against him, that he has been unable to resolve. This is the fact that Caldera, even though he has not managed to change the internal support at the highest levels, could do him a great deal of damage at the grass-roots level, and weaken the secretary-general's greatest stronghold.

Moreover, Caldera has support outside COPEI, represented by his own, personal strength, not counting the 10 percent that MAS could add to his camp. Because of this, they believe that Fernandez's lack of credibility and the Caldera factor are making serious inroads into his favored position in the polls.

The AD Dilemma

The situation in the AD is not rosy either. Mayor Claudio Fermin is in first place among his colleagues in the party, but there is strong internal resistance to him at the same time.

The candidacy of Fermin could in fact divide Democratic Action, which would of course be harmful to it in the end, since the most powerful factor for any "white" candidate is the unity of the party machinery.

A similar thing is happening with Pinerua, whom the polls put in a good position, but who is strongly opposed by many sectors of the party. One might well ask: What would Lusincho supporters and a good part of the orthodox guard do if Pinerua Ordaz were the candidate? Now, the person who is not triggering internal resistance of any size is Carlos Canache Mata. He could unite the AD around his position, but he is not included in the polls.

So this is the dilemma: Is it better to choose a candidate at the cost of unity, or to risk not garnering enough votes? Some AD leaders downplay the risks of the second option,

since history has shown how the AD can transform a weak candidate into an electoral success like Lusinchi.

When you talk about people voting across party lines, you can use as a reference the results of the polls on the various possible AD candidates. Eduardo Fernandez would lose to Fermin, but he would come out ahead of Pinerua, Morales Bello, and Canache Mata. In the AD, Fermin is ahead of all of his colleagues. MAS increases the famous, traditional 6 percent to 10.